

MAY I WALK WITH YOU?
EXPLORING URBAN INEQUALITY IN EVERYDAY
WALKING PRACTICES IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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I, SOLEDAD A. MARTÍNEZ RODRÍGUEZ, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates everyday walking practices in Santiago de Chile. It explores how the lived experiences of walkers differ in relation to urban inequality, specifically regarding its socio-spatial aspects. In much seminal literature on everyday life in the city, walking tends to be understood as a homogeneous practice. While research on walking over the last decade has started to consider a greater diversity of pedestrian practices, this thesis highlights the need for a more in-depth consideration of the differences between walkers, the socio-spatial conditions of the places they move through, and their everyday engagement with the city. It does so through extensive ethnographic fieldwork walking with people living and moving through different areas of Santiago. Audio and video recordings of journeys were collected and an innovative reflexive approach developed by inviting research participants to explore creatively their own walking practices.

The thesis advances a micropolitics of walking by exploring how the unequal distribution of material and affective qualities of places affect pedestrian experiences, and by focusing on walkers' responsiveness to quotidian situations by tracing key variations of their rhythms and attention. It is argued that through everyday walking people become part of places, participating in sensory relationships which implies to be part of 'fields of forces' that enable or constrain their capacities to perform the practice of walking. Conceiving walking as a way of touching places, reflections are made about how the tactile knowledge produced by pedestrian experiences affect urban dwellers' broader sense of the city.

By collecting stories around walking in Santiago de Chile, the thesis diversifies knowledge on everyday walking practices in Anglophone academic discussion. In so doing it provides a new perspective on the lived experience of urban inequality and on the role of pedestrian practices in shaping urban life.

IMPACT STATEMENT

During the last decade, there has been a growing interest in the ways people move through cities. The need to encourage active mobility and clean transportation is widely acknowledged both for environmental purposes and to increase people's well-being. However, there has been a lack of emphasis on walking, especially its social and everyday dimensions. This thesis addresses this by critically exploring the social practice of walking in Santiago de Chile, a city with high levels of socio-economic inequality. It develops a perspective on urban walking from exploring the lived experience of moving by foot. This helps to reveal experiential aspects of the way inequality impacts on people's everyday lives and the opportunities walking can offer to improve life in cities. This thesis benefits the academic field by advancing knowledge about urban walking through an analytical strategy that uses the concept of micropolitics to explore and compare walkers' experiences. In producing detailed ethnographic descriptions to reflect about a structural issue such as urban inequality, this thesis has produced novel insights that I have disseminated at several international conferences to diverse academic audiences interested in urban life, mobilities and qualitative methodologies.

In terms of the methodology, the thesis develops an innovative reflective approach. Using audio-visual material I invited research participants to reflectively engage with the research process. This meets a need for original qualitative research techniques capable of providing us with fresher ways of grasping the fleeting dimensions of everyday life based on more participatory approaches to research.

Outside the academy, the thesis addresses a current interest from Latin American citizens' associations in creating more just and environmentally sustainable cities. The critical perspective I developed will help them tackle walking and other urban practices in novel ways. My findings may interest, as well, audiences related to urban design and urban policy who are committed to promoting walking. I suggest going beyond binary ideas of good and bad places that either encourage or diminish people's willingness to walk. I show how pedestrian practices depend on complex processes in which people participate while walking. Taking measures that consider these criteria may open possibilities for intervening in places more effectively, managing in more creative ways the sometimes scarce resources of local governments, which can result in promoting walking as an everyday mobility practice and increasing the quality of life of urban dwellers.

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LIST OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	9
Acronyms	10
1 Introduction: Would You Walk with Us?	11
1.1 <i>Walking in the City</i>	13
1.2 <i>Walking in Santiago de Chile</i>	17
1.3 <i>Investigating Everyday Walking Practices</i>	24
1.4 <i>Dissertation Structure</i>	28
2 Everyday Walking Practices in the Unequal City.....	32
<i>Introduction</i>	32
2.1 <i>To Walk Around, a Social Practice</i>	33
2.1.1 <i>Assessing the Adequacy of Social Practice Theory in Exploring Walking</i>	37
2.2 <i>The Lived Experience of Walking: Perception as Participation</i>	40
2.3 <i>Making Places while Walking</i>	47
2.4 <i>Walking and Everyday Life</i>	51
2.5 <i>Different Ways of Walking the Unequal City</i>	55
2.5.1 <i>A Non-Homogeneous Everyday Life</i>	56
2.5.2 <i>Spatial Expression of Socio-Economic Inequality</i>	58
2.5.3 <i>Walking Unequally the Unequal City</i>	62
2.5.4 <i>A Micropolitics of Walking</i>	66
2.6 <i>The Case of Santiago: An Opportunity to Explore How Neoliberal Politics and Policies</i> <i>Affect Everyday Life in the City</i>	71
2.6.1 <i>The Neoliberal Production of the City</i>	73
2.6.2 <i>Fragmented Governance: The Effect of Uncoordinated Scales</i>	78
<i>Conclusion</i>	81
3 Methodology: May I Walk with You?	83
<i>Introduction</i>	83
3.1 <i>Exploring Practices of Everyday Life: A Non-Representational Task</i>	84
3.2 <i>Methodological Approaches to Urban Walking</i>	87
3.3 <i>Deciding to Do Ethnography</i>	93
3.4 <i>Doing Ethnography on Foot in Santiago de Chile</i>	98
3.4.1 <i>When? What? Who? Where?</i>	100
3.4.2 <i>Fieldwork Stages and Research Techniques</i>	104
3.5 <i>Ethical Remarks</i>	123
3.5.1 <i>Positionality</i>	123
3.5.2 <i>Consent and Anonymity</i>	124
3.5.3 <i>Retribution</i>	125
3.5.4 <i>Writing and Representation</i>	125
<i>Conclusion</i>	126
4 Materials of Everyday Walking in Santiago	128
<i>Introduction</i>	128
4.1 <i>Telling Stories about Materials</i>	131
4.2 <i>Greenery: Walking through Places that Take Care of Walkers</i>	143
4.2.1 <i>Urban Greenery: Theoretical Aspects</i>	144
4.2.2 <i>The Context: Santiago's Green Gap</i>	146
4.2.3 <i>The Lived Experience of Walking with Greenery</i>	152
4.2.4 <i>Making Places through Welcoming Materials</i>	157
4.2.5 <i>Towards a Micropolitics of Walking: Enabling Materials</i>	164
4.3 <i>Garbage: Walking through No One's Land</i>	166
4.3.1 <i>The Context: Santiago's Threads of Garbage</i>	167

4.3.2 The Lived Experience of Encountering Garbage	172
4.3.3 Making Places through Unwelcoming Materials.....	177
4.3.4 Towards a Micropolitics of Walking: Constraining Materials.....	183
<i>Conclusion</i>	185
5 Affectivities of Everyday Walking in Santiago	189
<i>Introduction</i>	189
5.1 Exploring Everyday Affectivities.....	191
5.2 Affectivities and Walking Studies.....	196
5.3 Living in Different Parts of the City, Moving Differently	199
5.4 Enabling Affectivities: 'The place is good enough to not provoke any kind of noise in me'	201
5.5 Constraining Affectivities: 'But I am always... kind of vigilant'	211
5.6 The Distribution of Affectivities in the Pedestrian City.....	222
<i>Conclusion</i>	226
6 A Micropolitics of Walking: Tracing Rhythm and Attention	230
<i>Introduction</i>	230
6.1 The Walkers' Bodily Capacities for Rhythm and Attention	233
6.1.1 Rhythm: Walkers' Way of Expressing Places.....	235
6.1.2 Attention: Walkers' Bodies Stretching towards Places	240
6.2 Stories on Attention and Rhythm.....	245
6.2.1 Story One: Night Walk Crossing Neighbourhoods	246
6.2.2 Story Two: Women Walking and Smoking	251
6.2.3 Story Three: Kids Learning the City	253
6.2.4 Story Four: Walking the Dog at Lunchtime	257
6.3 Walking in Force Fields: Comparing Variations of Attention and Rhythm.....	259
<i>Conclusion</i>	265
7 Touching the City: 'Only walking you can get that kind of knowledge'	268
<i>Introduction</i>	268
7.1 To Walk is to Touch: A Reciprocal Relationship with Places	273
7.2 Pedestrian Knowledge of the City	280
7.3 How Do You Walk in the City? The Plaited City and Dotted City.....	285
7.4 Private and Public, Being or not Being in Touch	288
7.5 The Pedestrian Lived Experience of the Unequal City	294
<i>Conclusion</i>	306
8 Conclusion	308
8.1 Research Summary	309
8.1.1 Exploring Urban Inequality in Everyday Walking Practices	309
8.1.2 Advancing a Politics of Urban Walking.....	310
8.1.3 Addressing Research Questions	311
8.2 Research Implications	314
8.2.1 An Ethnographic Perspective of Urban Processes	314
8.2.2 Implications for Santiago's Case	318
8.2.3 The Outcomes and Limitations of a Reflective Methodology	321
8.2.4 New Questions and Further Research	323
8.3 Final Remark: Thinking Urban Inequality through Walking.....	327
References	330
Appendix 1. Interview-Workshop Open Questions	346
Appendix 2. Descriptive Lines Samples	348
Appendix 3. Participants' Perspectives about Santiago	357

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 View from the city centre towards east.....	18
Figure 3.1 Map of Santiago: Municipal spending per capita.....	102
Figure 3.2 Participants' place of residence.....	103
Figure 3.3 Research participants' presentation.....	110
Figure 3.4 Interview-workshop: Participant crafting his collage.....	113
Figure 3.5 Still-montage: The colours of Juan Onofre's journeys	117
Figure 4.1 Participant's collage: Things Trinidad likes about her journeys on foot.....	132
Figure 4.2 Participant's collage: Things Trinidad dislikes about her journeys on foot.....	133
Figure 4.3 Participant's collage: Things Belisario likes about his journeys on foot	134
Figure 4.4 Participant's collage: Things Belisario dislikes about his journeys on foot.....	135
Figure 4.5 Participant's collage: Things Rafaela likes about her journeys on foot.....	136
Figure 4.6 Participant's collage: Things Rafaela dislikes about her journeys on foot.....	137
Figure 4.7 Participant's collage: Things Felipe likes about his journeys on foot.....	138
Figure 4.8 Participant's collage: Things Felipe dislikes about his journeys on foot	139
Figure 4.9 Santiago de Chile, satellite image	147
Figure 4.10 Distribution of green areas per person in participants' comunas.....	150
Figure 4.11 Still-montage: Juan Onofre showing 'Ñuñoa's green'.....	151
Figure 4.12 Still-montage: Antonio's immersion into the green.....	153
Figure 4.13 Still-montage: Juan Onofre, factories and trees in comuna of San Ramón	160
Figure 4.14 Still-montage: Rafaela resting under the shade of the trees.....	163
Figure 4.15 Swapping walk in comuna of El Bosque	167
Figure 4.16 Video-still: Factory brick wall near Belisario's home	168
Figure 4.17 Video-still: Malkovik's habitual morning walk to the bus stop.....	177
Figure 4.18 Swapping walk in the comuna of El Bosque	178
Figure 5.1 Participants' transport means.....	200
Figure 5.2 Video-still: Juan Onofre's journey.....	203
Figure 5.3 Still-montage: Trinidad's daydreaming, 'if this house were mine'.....	205
Figure 6.1 Zanjón de la Aguada Canal, two perspectives: September and December 2017	248
Figure 6.2 Still-montage from video footage: walking and smoking with Trinidad	251
Figure 6.3 Video-still: Fernanda with her kids waiting for green light on their way to Plaza Ñuñoa	255
Figure 6.4 Video-still: Fernanda with her kids in Plaza Ñuñoa	256
Figure 6.5 Video-still: Fernanda and her kids going to the dinner.....	256
Figure 6.6 Video-still: Felipe walking his dog	258
Figure 7.1 Still-montage: Fernanda's journey by car.....	269
Figure 7.2 Still-montage: Antonio's journey by bike.....	270
Figure 7.3 Still-montage: Rafaela's journey by foot	271
Figure 7.4 Summary table: research participants' means of transport by income and use frequency.....	292
Figure 7.5 Video-still: cars and buildings' windows, Julia's journey	293

Acronyms

AMS	Metropolitan Area of Santiago (Área Metropolitana de Santiago)
BCN	Library of the National Congress (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional)
CORVI	Housing Corporation (Corporación de la Vivienda)
EGIS	Social Housing Management Entity (Entidades de Gestión Inmobiliaria Social)
EOD	Origin and Destination Survey (Encuesta Origen Destino)
HDR	Human Development Report
FCM	Municipal Common Fund (Fondo Común Municipal)
MINVU	Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo)
MTT	Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications (Ministerio de Transportes y Telecomunicaciones)
OCUC	Cities Observatory Universidad Católica (Observatorio de Ciudades Universidad Católica)
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PNUD	United Nations Development Programme (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo)
SECTRA	Transport Secretary (Secretaría de Transporte)
SERVIU	Urban and Housing Service (Servicio de Vivienda y Urbanización)
SINIM	National Municipal Information System (Sistema Nacional de Información Municipal)

Introduction: Would You Walk with Us?

I think that [walking] it opens your mind-set, I think it clears your vision of life. I think it feeds your soul and allows you to discover the other . . . As I tell you, I think that walking is to find life.¹
(Mara)

This ethnographic inquiry investigates walking by ‘walking the walk’. The phrase contains a loop of meaning that represents the main ideas and methodologies I have mobilised through my work on everyday practices of walking in Santiago de Chile. The etymology of the word ‘investigate’ suggests that it comes from the Latin expression *in-vestigium-ire*, which means going after a track or a footprint. Archaeologist Alejandro Haber (2013, 79) tells us that the word *vestigium* refers to the sole of the foot and, ‘as an extension, it means the footprint that the sole has left’. Haber highlights the fact that the sole and the mark it leaves constitute a unity. The sole and the footprint are the same thing: ‘There is no *vestigium*-sole without *vestigium*-footprint and viceversa’ (80). Investigating, then, implies following traces and the bodies that create them by creating footprints at the same time. I understand investigating as a way of walking and, considering my research participant’s words in the opening quote, as a way of finding life too, as my research process implied movement and finding others. Walkers leave traces I explored following ‘by means of walking’ those who walk. The tool for investigating walking in my case was, at the same time, the subject I wanted to learn about.

Researching pedestrian practices required from me the gesture of reaching out to people and asking them: May I walk with you? Asking involves an exposition, you open yourself

¹ All the quotes from participants and to references written originally in Spanish or French appearing throughout the thesis have been freely translated by myself.

to the other. As with any exposition, it may provoke a sort of vertigo in the effect of stretching yourself out. In that sense, asking has a similarity with the act of walking itself in which you stretch yourself out across places. Now I am asking again, to you—the reader—if you would walk with us: the thirteen dwellers of Santiago that participated in this research and me. Would you walk with those who accepted me on their everyday journeys, mostly by foot, but also by car, metro and bike through the city? It was not only myself who learnt their ways. In the understanding that the aim of ‘ethnography is to learn how to think about a situation together with one’s informants’ (Tsing 2015, ix), I invited them to explore my own investigative paths by reflecting on their own paces. Even while this is not a co-written work as the final arguments were shaped by me, in making sense of participants’ stories I tried to elicit their stories and voices, letting the main arguments I develop here be guided by the conversations and experiences of the fieldwork.

This thesis emerges from the curiosity of understanding how people experience the city while they move on foot: What does walking the city add to everyday urban experiences and people’s sense of the city? This initial interest soon became a question about Santiago de Chile and inequality. It also became a question about urban dwellers’ agency in everyday life. Initial readings of literary and academic works on urban walking introduced me to the figure of the *flâneur*, to the critical aims of Situationists and to accounts presenting pedestrians as resistant subjects of the urban system. These readings took me to European cities and their intellectual traditions. I quickly noticed that these ideas about walking in the city did not coincide fully with my common sense of what walking in Santiago—my home city—is. While these kinds of experiences may occur there too, I had the sense that walking in this particular city also means for many not having other ‘better’ (more efficient and/or comfortable) ways of moving; therefore, walking could also entail uncomfortable and struggling situations and brought an emphasis to socio-economic inequality in the city.

I understood that recognising the diversity of pedestrian lived experiences was needed within academic scholarship on urban walking. My work explores, then, mixed experiences of walking to learn about their differences depending on who walks, where and how. My research is an investigation of the relationship between walkers and their environments paying attention to how socio-economic conditions of urban dwellers and urban spaces intersect with pedestrian practices.

Before further introducing this thesis, I would like to extend another invitation. I arranged some of the audio-visual appendices of my work into a blog. It may be helpful to review these to have a visual approach of what I present in the following pages. These appendices are referenced across the text. The blog address is: <https://thesisappendices.wordpress.com/>

In this opening chapter I detail how my work relates to literature on urban walking. Then I present the context of Santiago de Chile and explain what it offers to the understanding of everyday walking. After having set this background, I introduce the main research questions that guided my work and outline how the following chapters address them.

1.1 Walking in the City

Walking is the basic means of human locomotion and a fundamental feature of what we consider 'to be a human form of life' (Ingold and Vergunst 2008a, 1). Furthermore, walking plays an essential role in people's movement in the city, and in a way 'all movement involves intermittent walking' (Urry 2007, 63). Even going to a car park or to the bus stop involves moving by foot.

In urban settings walking becomes part of an organization of movement through a complex system that is constantly ‘making the city’ (Hamilton and Hoyle 1999, 56). Planners and city dwellers have often considered it as a minor way of moving around the city compared to other modes. Until recently the idea that people in cities depend more and more on cars, walking less, was spread (see Adams 2001). For example, John Urry (2007, 76) states that

during the twentieth century, the pedestrian system with its inequalities of access and movement has been up against a ferocious enemy, the car system. This irreversibly transforms the possibilities of city walking that are now often only possible in malls and other pedestrianized enclaves or camps.

While no doubt motorized transport has changed our ways of moving in big cities such as Santiago, where it is improbable to commute or move only by walking, it is an error to state that—in general—walking has become an almost impracticable activity. At least not in Santiago, neither in many European cities.

While mobilities research has not considered urban walking especially (Jensen 2009), it has been a topic present within many European intellectual traditions. Urban walking has commonly been addressed by artists at least since the industrialization of cities in the 19th century (see Tester 1994, Solnit 2000, Mouton 2001, Gros 2014). One common figure in literature about walking in cities is the *flâneur*. This male stroller taken from the streets of Paris in the 19th century, who loses himself within the hustle and bustle of the crowded city centre, has been used to illustrate the urban experience of walking in scholarly fields as much as in arts practice (see Tester 1994, Benjamin [1982] 1999, Jenks and Neves 2000, Lucas 2008, Nuvolati 2014). However appealing this figure may be for talking about urban walking, equating walking in the city with getting lost and engaging in this kind of ‘intoxicating’ (Benjamin [1982] 1999, 417) aesthetical experience of the modern city has been widely criticised especially by feminist scholars (Wolff 1985, Wilson 1992, Parsons

2000, Elkin 2016). The diversity of urban dwellers, of cities and places within cities, leads the critique of the *flâneur*, since the conditions that allowed this particular way of walking were exclusive to white, wealthy males in the modern city. Therefore, using it as a representation of urban walkers neglects ways other subjects, such as women, have participated in public spheres in modern urban Europe (Urry 2007, 69-70).

Another common route used by intellectuals to think about urban walking has been inspired by the Situationist's *dérive*, 'a technique of rapid fleeting through diverse ambiances' (Debord 1956) through which Situationists looked to engage with an exceptional kind of awareness that would let them explore affective urban ambiances. The aim was discovering the latent possibilities urban spaces offer and using that exercise as a way of criticising the capitalistic production of the city (Careri 2002, 88). While these figures of the *flâneur* and the *dérive* have been mobilised to reflect on aesthetical, leisure and political aspects of the experience of walking in the city, the issue regarding whose experiences these intellectual and artistic explorations represent is problematical as they tend to ignore less privileged ways of walking in their claims to talk about the urban experience.

In the more specific sphere of social sciences and urban studies we can trace back the interest in urban walking to Erving Goffman's (1963) social interactionism, which describes how pedestrians negotiate their movement through public spaces. However, it is in the last two decades that urban walking has become a burgeoning subject of study, inspiring an increasing amount of publications especially within geography and anthropology. It has been addressed both as research subject and as methodological tool for exploring different dimensions of life in cities (Kärrholm et al. 2017).

The works of Jean-François Augoyard ([1979] 2007) and Michel de Certeau ([1980] 1984) can be considered seminal in this new wave of walking studies. They established the study of pedestrian practices as part of research on everyday life in the city (I further explore their ideas in chapter 2). Together with recognising their contribution in making everyday walking in the city a proper subject of study, later works have criticised their tendency to depict everyday practitioners, and walkers, in an often homogeneous and heroic way (Edensor 1998, Latham 2003, Morris 2004, Middleton 2010, Pinder 2011). Augoyard and de Certeau describe walking as an act of appropriation of a space that has been planned by others in situations of power. In that sense, they describe walking as a resistive act that confronts users with planners. While I value how these works recognise that walking in the city is enmeshed in relationships of power and control, they tend to neglect differences among everyday practitioners of the city: not all pedestrians walk undergoing the same conditions.

Every person's practice of everyday walking is different. It 'varies for different social groups' (Urry 2007, 69) changing pedestrian experiences depending on who you are, where you walk and the purpose of the walk. To investigate how walking is differently lived and practised opens a path to a more critical understanding of everyday urban life at the level of the embodied experience of urban space. While more recent works on walking in the city have started to envisage differences in the practice (see Ingold and Vergunst 2008b, Shortell and Brown 2014b, Middleton 2016, Aguilar Díaz 2016, Warren 2017, Sharanya 2017) more work is needed that compares pedestrians' capacities in the same city, engaging in an understanding of cities from pedestrian practices.

I aim to contribute to walking studies with engaged empirical work considering how walking is a different experience enmeshed in different and unequal everyday lives. Interested in diversifying the knowledge about everyday urban walkers and the

relationships they create with the city, I undertook ethnographic research in Santiago de Chile during ten months between August 2015 and May 2016—which correspond with the end of winter, spring, summer and the beginning of autumn—exploring how people who live in different areas of the city have different experiences of walking.

1.2 Walking in Santiago de Chile

Located in the central part of Chile and surrounded by mountains and hills, as can be seen in the picture below, the city of Santiago sprawls at the feet of The Andes. It is the most populated city and the capital of the country. It covers an area of about 641 km² and its population is estimated at around seven million people. The so-called city of Santiago corresponds to Greater Santiago, a metropolitan area that includes a total of 37 *comunas*² belonging to four different provinces. Most of the population of the region, which contributes a little bit less than the half of the GDP of the entire country, lives in this conurbation (Orellana 2009). Greater Santiago is not a specific administrative unit; therefore, the administration of this territory depends on different authorities, which involves limitations in terms of the general planning and development of the city.

² *Comuna* is the smallest political and administrative territorial division in Chile, similar to Local Councils in the UK.



Figure 1.1 View from the city centre towards east. Source: Author, January 2016.

Numbers provided by the Origin and Destination Survey (EOD) show that walking is widespread in Santiago (SECTRA 2014b). Data available indicates that 34.5% of all journeys are performed exclusively on foot and those journeys that involve public transport are around 26%. Considering that public transport involves some sort of walking, it thus ends up being part of more than the half of the daily journeys made in Santiago. Therefore, walking is an important way through which people experience the city. The survey also shows that the use of the car is considerably higher in wealthier areas. While in the rest of the city the rate of use of public transport is slightly superior, in the high-income area this rate inverts greatly in favour of car use, which gives some first impressions about the intersections between walking and socio-economic inequality.

Walking has been ignored by governmental authorities and urban planners until recently both as a mobility mode and as a practice for inhabiting public spaces. Transport planning has focused often on improving traffic and time-efficiency. The Ministry of Transport and

Telecommunications (MTT) has hardly considered walking specifically, being tackled incidentally only.³ For example, the *Plan Maestro de Transporte Santiago 2025* (Transport Master Plan for Santiago 2025) mentions walking succinctly and only in relation to sustainability and universal access (MTT 2012). It declares that walking will be considered ‘as a proper mode of transport’ (119) without further developing what this means apart from the implementation of universal design measures in public spaces.

Santiago shows high levels of spatial segregation (Ducci 2000, 2004, Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001, Sabatini and Salcedo 2005, Hidalgo 2005) which plays a determinant role in the morphological configuration of the city and it determines what kind of city people are allowed to walk through depending on their place of residence. We can see that the context of this investigation is that of an unequal city in which the practice of walking is entangled with socio-economic conditions as well as with planning practices that have underestimated it. Researching Santiago’s case may help to diversify the knowledge of pedestrian experiences due to the persistent condition of social inequality, which is a situation shared with many other Latin American urban contexts (Lustig, Lopez-Calva, and Ortiz-Juarez 2012).

The production of spatial segregation is a process that can be traced back to Spanish colonization. During the Spanish conquest, cities were tools for occupying the territory (Romero 2005, 47). Colonial settlements were often established ‘in unknown nature, over a society they would annihilate, over a culture that was considered non-existent. Cities were a European bastion in the middle of the void’ (Romero 2005, 67). Symbolically, cities were for the Spanish spots of civilization and moral order in the middle of the ‘wilderness’, among people with radically different ways of living. Urban settlements’ layout followed the regular form of a checkerboard grid called *damero*: ‘Regularity, geometry, modulation,

³ This was explained to me by a policy maker working in the Smart Cities Unit of the MTT.

simplicity and centrality were the evident qualities of the new type of city invented between 1522 and 1540 in continental America' (Nicolini 2005, 30). Santiago was established in 1541 following this outline that organised the space hierarchically, placing in the centre an empty squared space that functioned as main square around which main administrative buildings and the church were built. Next to that centre the houses of the principal neighbours were located. Towards the outskirts, a few streets away, people's residences decreased in social hierarchy.

This geography characterised by a centre-periphery differentiation survived through the Independence process led by a creole bourgeoisie that took over political power. They continued living in the city centre. The city started to grow and the poorer *mestizo* (mixed race) population occupied the urban outskirts in improvised, almost rural, settlements (Salazar 2014). The segregation took the form of a city centre symbolising order, power, wealth and civilization, and a poor periphery with informal settlements. A dual city was consolidated. For example, in the second half of the 19th century a Mayor of Santiago, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, projected the construction of a ring road that clearly excluded the informal city from the formal, 'civilized', city. He conceived it as a

cordon sanitaire that would isolate civilized from barbarian population. In which barbary is not only related with misery and disease propagation, but with a morality or a lack of morality that menaced the hegemonic values of the ruling groups. It was, therefore, the consolidation of spatial segregation as organising principle of the urban space (Vicuña 2014).

After efforts were made in the mid 20th century for generating social housing strategies and more regulated urban development, Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship (1973-1990) and its neoliberal politics worsened socio-spatial segregation which had the effect, among others, of: freeing land for urban use; establishing neoliberal housing policies in which the construction of social housing was left in the hands of the market while the

state diminished its role to subsidise of the poorer population's buying demand; eradicating shanty towns from wealthier areas, locating them in precarious land on the urban periphery; and establishing new *comunas* in 1981, following a criterion of social homogeneity (Sabatini 2000). We can see how high levels of socio-spatial segregation in Santiago respond to intertwined socio-historical processes that have reinforced a sense of a dual city: that of the elites and wealthier citizens and what is left to 'the rest'.

Currently in Santiago it is possible to distinguish a wealthy periphery in the north-east, a variety of more central spaces having relatively good connections, infrastructure and services, and a more precarious periphery in the south and west, poorly connected with the city centre, with insufficient urban infrastructure. Therefore, 'the poor and rich areas of Santiago are practically independent one from the other' (Ducci and Soler, 2004, as cited in Ureta 2008, 276). As the wealthier population segregates itself in certain neighbourhoods, two different morphological units can be distinguished in Santiago:

The fact that this part of the city needs to be modelled independently to coincide with the actual development, shows in spatial terms what has already been shown in social and economic terms: Santiago is not one but at least two cities. Thus, the spatial model directly reflects the conjecture of "two cities", which postulates that the rich and poor areas of Santiago are virtually independent of each other (Green 2003, 8).

This morphology arranges socio-spatial segregation by marking the dynamics of the city and of resources distribution. Certainly socio-economic segregation in Santiago is more complex than this duality, as Margarita Green herself acknowledges. She argues that, together with these two different morphological units, socio-spatial segregation coexists in a 'layered' fashion, with urban dwellers moving across and surpassing neighbourhoods limits also in a segregated way (9). For example, *oriente*⁴ area dwellers do not 'use, visit or

⁴ This is, together with *barrio alto*, a common name given to the wealthy north-east area of Santiago.

know the poor sectors of the city [while] much of the poor population goes daily to work to the *oriente* sector' (9). These ideas correlate with the experience of my research participants. While those living in middle and low-income areas travelled to wealthier zones in their everyday lives, they still felt this was a different Santiago 'up there'. Even when there are many middle-income and mixed areas such as the city centre, this idea of a dual city, wealthier and poorer, emerges from dwellers' narratives about Santiago:

Differences are striking. I always say: upper and northern [Santiago] it is different country.
(Malkovik)

Then, one lives in a third world within a... it is like a second world within Santiago [he is comparing high-income areas with the lower-income area where he lives].
(Juan Onofre)

Furthermore, these divisions are so internalised by urban dwellers that even if, in their everyday routine, people from a low or middle-income part of the city walk into a high-income neighbourhood, as is the case for Malkovik—one of the research participants—they do not necessarily feel they belong in that area. For example, Malkovik told me that he feels he participates in those places as a visitor since while walking there he is inevitably comparing and thinking why the neighbourhood he lives is so different. People tend to identify themselves with certain trajectories through certain areas of the city, which shows how subtly socio-spatial segregation can carve peoples' sense of the city in which they dwell. Another illustration of this is shown by the 2017 Human Development Report (HDR) which depicts that 'in every socio-economic level people are constantly determining if the place they are moving through corresponds or not to their socio-economic reference group. There are neighbourhoods, streets, spaces to which you belong and others you do not: there is always "another Santiago" for city dwellers, that of the others' (PNUD 2017, 27).

The sense of a dual city is still present and reinforced by processes that, while different from those of colonial times, they can be considered as a new version of an old urban organising pattern based on socio-economic segregation. One factor that helps to reinforce urban segregation nowadays is that Santiago, as a metropolitan area, lacks a unified administration that guarantees to tackle critical issues such as the dramatic difference of economic resources among the 37 *comunas* that form it:

The significant disparity in the socio-spatial configuration of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago reflects the structure of power within this metropolitan space; whereby municipalities in the eastern cone are better able to shape public and private actions in support of the public interests of their resident populations (Orellana 2017).

In terms of the material settings and the affordances each area presents for walkers, socio-spatial conditions respond to municipal income and also to the housing market, both being entangled processes. They have contributed to shape in Santiago a contrasting landscape in which greener and more pleasant amenities are conceived as added value in those areas in which the housing market needs to compete for buyers. This leads to the case that in middle-income and low-income areas in which people cannot pay larger amounts of money, builders do not worry about providing good design, facilities or even good housing quality. María Elena Ducci (2004, 140) explains how this situation works in poorer neighbourhoods:

In the other extreme of the city there are big extensions where the poorest population live. These are characterized by bad quality housing, lack of green areas, almost inexistent or abandoned public spaces, scarcity and bad quality facilities, etc. The private sector intervenes in the production of these areas too (in Chile they build most of the social housing), but it responds mainly to “what people can pay”, and it seems that poorer population can pay for no more than bad quality, minimal dimensions and ugliness.

This is the scene of the urban inequality I will be referring to constantly through this thesis. It is the production of differentiated socio-spatial conditions responding to the high levels of inequality in the distribution of both personal and local governments' income.

1.3 Investigating Everyday Walking Practices

This research explores from an ethnographical perspective everyday walking practices and their intersections with conditions of urban inequality. I put special emphasis on knowing the relationship between the walker and the environment; therefore, I explore to what extent socio-spatial conditions of places affect pedestrian experiences. To explore how walking is different in distinct areas of Santiago and under diverse circumstances, I focused on describing research participants' lived experiences of their journeys on foot.

Walking occurs within diverse material settings, entailing varied affectivities and playing multiple roles in people's everyday routines. However, these are not the only elements that can be accounted for to describe pedestrian experiences. From the vast variety of elements and situations that constitute the experience of walking I needed to focus in on a few to account for the complexity of the experience. I approached the fieldwork with an open mind-set to define those elements that would allow me to describe and to compare walkers' relationship with the city. Making sense of my conversations with the research participants and influenced by key works on urban walking before, during and after the fieldwork, I decided to articulate my descriptions of the practice of walking by focusing on the relationship of walkers with the materials of different places and on the emerging affectivities of the journeys (see section 2.3).

At the same time, I also explore urban walkers' agency in responding to those conditions, in the understanding that walking is an active relationship between walkers and the environment. Considering that 'inequality provides a perspective on power' (Hamilton

and Hoyle 1999, 70) in the sense that it expresses power relationships, research on everyday practices is key in order to consider how general processes of socio-economic resource distribution affect people's lives. As Gabrielle Bendiner Viani posits, from the perspective of environmental psychology and art: it is in everyday life 'where our power relations, politics, and negotiations are filtered down and made manifest' (2005, 720). In that sense, my work is interested in mobilising a perspective of power from a subjective stance to look at everyday walking. To do this I use David Bissell's (2016) concept of micropolitics and ideas developed by Caroline Gatt's (2013) around bodies' capacities to do and sense things and around fields of force. I present here a micropolitics of walking that allows depictions of how broader conditions of urban inequality manifest in lived experiences, affecting the bodily experience of walking. Through this perspective that looks for a comprehension of differences in walkers' experiences of the city, I contribute to better understandings of power relationships in the ambit of everyday life. This is particularly crucial in a city such as Santiago with high levels of socio-economic inequality that shape peoples' experiences and knowledge of the places they inhabit.

In this research I faced the challenge of making sense of the interplay between two dimensions of social life: that of the lived experience, full of details and particularities, and that of urban inequality, which corresponds to more structural socio-economic processes that shape urban life. In that sense, my purpose followed anthropologist Michael Jackson's propositions, as summarised by Nigel Rapport (2003, 72):

Rather than attempting to subjugate lived experience to abstractions, anthropology should be dialectical: trace out the play between social structures and the actual experience of individuals in the everyday, illuminate the experiences which lie behind the masks and facades of conceptual order.

Through stories about walking I hope to complicate ideas about urban inequality and urban mobilities. In that vein, my aim goes beyond simply depicting the bad conditions

poor people overcome when walking. By bringing the walking practices of more privileged people into the same frame, I look to explore how they coincide and differ adding complexity to our views around urban inequality. To investigate how walking in the city is unequally lived opens a path to a more critical understanding of everyday urban life at the level of the embodied and lived experience of urban space.

I do not seek to reveal ‘the’ practice of walking in Santiago de Chile. My analysis does not consist in ‘uncovering’ how people walk, but to make sense of how it is to walk in Santiago from the point of view of the walkers. Many of the ideas of this thesis were discussed with them. I collect here a diverse range of experiences to answer how these particular experiences and stories are, at the same time, part of a bigger story or situation, that of an unequal city.

It was my deeper interest to link the ethnographical exploration of everyday walking in Santiago with a more general understanding about the city as a whole: how we make sense of the city from our paces, from that tactile relation that emerges between body and urban space. I suggest that the constellations of those singular pedestrian experiences of the city and our more general engaging with it are linked and they affect the way we value and imagine the city and the way we act toward others. I develop these ideas conceiving walking as a way of touching places and reflecting about how the tactile knowledge produced by pedestrian experiences affect urban dwellers’ broader sense of the city.

Following these aims, I defined three research questions that help in addressing the intersections between everyday walking practices and urban inequality from the perspective of lived experience:

1. How are everyday walking practices affected by and how do they respond to unequal socio-spatial conditions in Santiago?
2. How does the unequal distribution of materials and affectivities across different socio-economic areas of Santiago enable or constrain dwellers' bodily capacities for performing everyday pedestrian practices?
3. What kind of relationship is fostered by everyday walking practices between urban dwellers and the city and how is this related to dwellers' socio-economic differences?

The first question is focused on pedestrian situations and it is the one that shapes my investigation. The second and third questions draw attention to more detailed aspects of the experience of walking in Santiago, in the case of the second question, and to a broader discussion about walking in Santiago, in the case of the third question. Both questions help answer the first one which sets the main subject of the thesis. It defines the aim of the thesis which is to learn about the relationship between everyday pedestrian practices and urban inequality by understanding it as a back-and-forth and responsive process. In this way, I can learn how pedestrians are affected by socio-spatial conditions of the places they walk through but also how they negotiate everyday situations. It also allows me to explore inequalities that walking may reproduce and consider, in turn, how the understanding of walking practices may help the understanding of how inequality works in daily life. I do this by using the concept of 'micropolitics' as a concept that allows us to depict the interactions between socio-spatial conditions and walkers' lived experiences. The second question leads attention to those elements that stood out during the fieldwork:

materials and affectivities. Answering this question informed my descriptions of the actual bodily experience of walking in Santiago and set the background to reflect on walking practices and urban inequality. Through descriptions about how materials and affectivities vary throughout Santiago around walking I grasped the contrasting conditions of places in this segregated city and how they affect participants' bodily capacities to perform their everyday walks. Finally, the third question points to a more general understanding of the specific role that everyday walking has in producing specific ways of relating to and knowing urban places. This is relevant considering that everyday practices produce an understanding of the world we inhabit that is informed by urban inequality as it influences whether urban dwellers walk or not in their everydayness, and where and how. This question allows me to offer a broader view of Santiago and the link between people's socio-economic conditions and walking practices.

1.4 Dissertation Structure

This introduction has already indicated some of the arguments I make about exploring everyday urban life and the need for considering a diversity of walking practitioners and situations. I develop these further in chapter 2, which has two aims: to identify the debates my research contributes to and to present the main theoretical concepts that underpin the arguments I weave through the ethnographic chapters. First, the chapter aligns my research with the body of work that during the last decade has addressed walking as a social practice. It gives an overview of this placing my project in the context of what has been done. Then, looking for a definition of 'practices', I review some of the main ideas developed by practice theory to acknowledge that, in my case, a more phenomenological perspective is needed to develop the micropolitical descriptions of the pedestrian experiences I pursue. The chapter also discusses the way I am addressing urban inequality, stating my aim of accounting for the lived dimension of it. The chapter brings to the fore discussions around place, environment, lived experience and micropolitics, which

constitute the conceptual framework that sustains the findings the following chapters advance.

Chapter 3 introduces my methodological research strategy and experience. It justifies the use of ethnography to explore everyday practices. It explains the role of reflexivity expressed in asking participants to walk with them, becoming myself a walker who learns from their experiences and, at the same time, asking them to become explorers of their own practices. The chapter discusses some of the ideas of non-representational theory to which my ethnography in part responds by using audio-visual material during the fieldwork through what I called the 'interview-workshop'. Then it explains my understanding of ethnography and the main methodological decisions taken regarding the selection of research areas and possible participants. It describes fieldwork stages and the research techniques developed. I also clarify some of the procedures I used to review and analyse fieldwork outputs, which gives a better idea of the validity of the descriptions and claims I make throughout the chapters. Finally, it presents my reflections on ethical issues and on my own positionality within the fieldwork.

The following chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 present my empirical findings. I have ordered them so that the approach moves from the more particular to the more general: from describing how it is to walk in Santiago in chapter 4 and 5 (addressing the second research question), then reflecting about power and urban inequality in chapter 6 (addressing the first research question) and, finally, proposing a way of thinking about the role of walking in the city in chapter 7 (addressing the third research question). I return to all three questions, with particular emphasis on the first, in the final conclusions.

Chapters 4 and 5 help to describe the specificities of how is to walk through different parts of Santiago by focusing on the materials and affectivities that make up walkers'

experiences. Through describing the materials people enter into relation with and the emerging affectivities of their paths, I show how walkers are part of processes of place-making. Chapter 4 distinguishes two key materials walkers highlighted to make sense of urban inequality conditions: greenery and garbage. I describe what these materials do to walkers' experiences and the kind of relationships that emerge around them that may enable or constrain walkers' practices. One key finding I show is that materials do not only affect people due to aesthetical qualities but, prominently, due to the social relationships of which these materials are a part. Chapter 5 explores the affective dimension of everyday journeys on foot. It distinguishes two basic affectivities that may enable or constrain walkers' possibilities for engaging with more diverse affective states while walking: a sense of safety and of continuity. These two chapters suggest that the distribution of these material and affective qualities respond to the socio-economic conditions of places, and this results in an expression of urban inequality in walkers' experiences. In this way, these chapters start to introduce the idea of 'pedestrians' capacities' to reflect about urban inequality, which is developed further in the following chapter.

Chapter 6 focuses on walkers' responsiveness to pedestrian situations. It addresses the first research question outlining a micropolitics of walking by tracing walkers' variations of rhythm and attention. It argues that these capacities of walkers' bodies vary in correspondence to different materials and affective conditions of places. Walking involves, then, entering into a field of forces that may enable or restrict walkers' possibilities to act in and sense places that manifest through rhythm and attention. This allows us to envisage how place conditions are negotiated through everyday walking practices, understanding better how pedestrian experiences intersect with urban inequality.

Chapter 7 answers the third research question about walkers' broader relationship with the city. It provides a more general view about what it is to walk in Santiago de Chile and

the role of walking in urban dwellers' sense of the city. Using the metaphors of 'plaited city' and 'dotted city', the chapter focuses on describing how the everyday practice of walking produces a tactile knowledge of the city. It proposes conceiving walking as a way of touching the city, developing political reflections about who touches what parts of the city and how those distinctions reinforce socio-economic segregation.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by providing a summary of the research gap this thesis has sought to fill and the novelty of the arguments I have deployed. The chapter also remarks on some of the key topics and issues engaged with through the thesis and the implications of this work not only for academic debates but for practitioners working in fields such as urban and transport policy-making and urban design. It also outlines further questions and research directions emerging from my work. It finishes by remarking on the way the knowledge of different experiences of walking helps broaden the debate around urban inequality.

Everyday Walking Practices in the Unequal City

Introduction

This chapter reviews the academic work on which my research is based. I consider diverse ideas and concepts that help answer my research questions on everyday walking practices in Santiago de Chile. I have let my research object—everyday walking practices in the unequal city—guide the academic discussions I review here. I build my research by appraising key works from social sciences, especially from human geography and anthropology, on walking, practices, everyday life and urban inequality. Each of the empirical chapters that ensue also includes specific theoretical insights concerning the singular debates that each mobilises.

The chapter is structured into six sections. First, I address the body of work from social sciences that has contributed to positioning walking as a research subject. By defining walking as a social practice, it has opened-up possibilities for exploring walking in its complexity. To clarify what I understand as a social practice and to define the elements I paid attention to in the fieldwork, I review some of the literature on social practices coming from sociology, well-known as ‘practice theory’. I develop critical perspectives considering the ways it fits my ethnographical research and questioning its potential to deal with sensory aspects of lived experiences and the role of place in people’s everyday pursuits. For the purposes of my research, I instead turn to a more phenomenological understanding of practices giving central role to lived experience. This allows me to better explore walking in the present moment of its performance, understanding in which ways it allows a sensory participation in places. Therefore, in the third section I state the way I understand the concept of place and environment, aiming to consider how people become

places while walking. Subsequently, in the fourth section I review the links between everyday life and walking. I argue that more empirical work is needed for unravelling differences among urban walkers and their everyday life in cities. As my work consisted in grasping part of this diversity by looking to urban inequality, in the fifth section I define how I understand urban inequality and I explain my attempt to tackle experiential aspects of urban inequality and exclusion developing a micropolitics of walking. I finish by showing—in the last section—the relevance of studying everyday walking practices and inequality in the neoliberal context of Santiago’s politics and policies.

2.1 To Walk Around, a Social Practice

The act of walking is described within social sciences as one of the ‘most basic of human activities’ (Lorimer 2011, 19). This essential aspect of moving on foot is probably what drives diverse disciplines to investigate it. Walking is present in a myriad of human situations in mobility practices and everyday activities such as going to buy groceries, promenading, popular celebrations, religious processions, political manifestations, etc. Giving an account of how walking has been researched, then, is challenging. For example, we find studies on walking in areas such as transport research focused on decision-making, route choice, behaviour change and walking patterns (Alfonzo 2005, Papadimitriou, Yannis, and Golias 2009, Tight et al. 2011, Millward, Spinney, and Scott 2013, Kang et al. 2017); in urban design, focused on space walkability and the perception of the built environment when moving by foot (Mehta 2008, Ewing and Handy 2009, Adkins et al. 2012, Johansson, Sternudd, and Kärholm 2016); in health research, focused on walking as exercise and its health benefits (Siegel, Brackbill, and Heath 1995, Lumsdon and Mitchell 1999); or in psychology focused on its cognitive and emotional benefits (Johansson, Hartig, and Staats 2011, Oppezzo and Schwartz 2014, Yang 2015), among many others.

In the last decade the interest in walking has increased. Many groups have emerged to share thoughts, literature and experiences on walking both through the city and rural areas.⁵ New books on walking addressed to the general public have come to light (Solnit 2000, Le Breton 2000, 2012, Gros 2014, Vallejo and Paillière 2015, Elkin 2016). This enthusiasm is also expressed by public ‘concerns with how people can be encouraged to adopt more sustainable modes of transport such as walking and cycling’ in cities (Middleton 2011b, 90). This issue nourishes many policy debates, especially in the context of the challenges global warming presents in terms of re-thinking and reorganising our ways of moving. It also responds to concerns about improving life quality in cities, making ‘cities for people’ (Gehl 2010). Furthermore, it fits political debates about the right to the city conceived as ‘a right to change ourselves by changing the city’ (Harvey 2008, 23), which means to engage in practices that permit to participate in a common urban life. In Latin America, for example, groups of activists attempt to position walking within public debates about how we live and move in cities.⁶

This interest in walking across society resounds with the growing academic interest in the subject. In the case of social sciences, it has specifically grabbed the attention of disciplines such as human geography and anthropology. Some works address walking as a qualitative research method (Kusenbach 2003, Thibaud 2008, Myers 2011, Kohler 2014, Yi’En 2014, Bates and Rhys-Taylor 2017); others take it as a research subject in itself (Thomas 2004, 2007, 2010, Ingold and Vergunst 2008a, Middleton 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2016, Shortell and Brown 2014b, Brown and Shortell 2016, Tironi and Mora 2018). Geographer Hayden Lorimer (2011)—looking to make sense of the continuity and diversity of works

⁵ See for example: Ramblers – at the heart of walking <http://www.ramblers.org.uk/go-walking/about-group-walks.aspx>; (on Facebook since 2010) Caminar como práctica anarquista, ética, estética y de pensamiento <https://www.facebook.com/Caminar-como-pr%C3%A1ctica-anarquista-%C3%A9tica-est%C3%A9tica-y-de-pensamiento-215074992182846/>; (on Meetup since 2015) Stgo Caminatas Rutas Patrimoniales <https://www.meetup.com/es/Stgo-Caminatas-Rutas-Patrimoniales/members/?op=leaders>;

⁶ See *SampaPé* in São Paulo: <http://www.sampape.org/>; *La Liga Peatonal* in Mexico: <http://ligapeatonal.org/>; or *Red Latinoamericana de Peatones*: <http://peatonesmedellin.org/>

on walking—talks about early pedestrian studies which conceived walking as a functional mode of transport: a way to reach a destination point. Lorimer contrasts these earlier approaches with what he considers to be the ‘new walking studies’ that ‘figure pedestrianism as practice’ showing a ‘preference for a cultural interpretative frame’ of research (19).

The great achievement produced by social sciences has been envisaging walking as a social practice. Social disciplines have challenged the usual taken-for-granted definition of walking to be a locomotive and physical activity by introducing complexity to the analysis: walking is more than just putting one step in front of the other. Among the works that have been seminal for the current growth of ‘new walking studies’ we find Marcel Mauss ([1935] 1973) and his work on bodily techniques; Walter Benjamin ([1982] 1999) who retrieved the now well-known figure of the *flâneur* from Baudelaire’s work; and Michel de Certeau ([1980] 1984) and his ideas on walking in the city as an everyday practice that creates resistance and allows appropriation within urban space. More recent contributions have consolidated the consideration of walking as a social practice. Many of those have engaged in some form of empirical work that was missing previously (Thomas 2004, 2007, 2010, Ingold 2004, 2007, Lee and Ingold 2006, Ingold and Vergunst 2008a, Middleton 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2016, Vergunst 2010, 2011, 2017, 2008). These contributions have greatly strengthened and opened-up novel possibilities for researching practices on foot, helping to spark further academic interest in walking.

While these works agree to conceive walking as a practice, each of them defines it slightly differently depending on their own research interests. One of the most provocative postures is Tim Ingold and Jo Lee Vergunst’s (2008a, 1) who argue that walking permits us to respond to the presence of others which makes it extremely social: ‘Our principal contention is that walking is a profoundly social activity: that in their timings, rhythms

and inflections, the feet respond as much as does the voice to the presence and activity of others'. They take this consideration further by turning around the idea that walking is an activity that takes place in social life. Instead, they assert that 'social life is walked' and, therefore, 'walking around is fundamental to the everyday practice of social life' (Lee and Ingold 2006). They seek to place 'the social in the actual ground of lived experience' based on the idea that 'it is along this ground, and not in some ethereal realm of discursively constructed significance, over and above the material world, that lives are paced out in their mutual relations' (2008a, 2).

I particularly value Ingold and Vergunst's effort for thinking social life considering walking fundamental to it, which means to conceive bodily movement as the motor of social life. Moreover, this conception triggers questions in relation to my research: if walking is an essential movement for social life, what kind of societies, what kind of lives, emerge from practices of walking that are shaped by unequal socio-spatial conditions? What are the implications for social life of the limitations some groups face in their walks? What does it mean for a city when some of its dwellers can choose when, where and how to walk while others cannot? These questions point at the role of moving and relating to each other in the city by foot (see chapter 7).

Other authors within these 'new walking studies' mostly understand walking as an activity or practice that is social because it is socially organised and unfolds as part of social life, allowing people to create relationships with others and with the world around them (Edensor 2010, 74, Middleton 2010, 576, Lorimer 2011, 19, Shortell and Brown 2014b, 5). For example, Tim Edensor (2010, 74) conceives of walking practices as enmeshed in social and cultural life. He defines walking as an 'irreducibly social and cultural practice that is learned, regulated, stylised, communicative and productive of culturally oriented experiences'. Similarly, Shortell and Brown (2014a, 1), in the opening of their book on

urban walking, state that everyday mobility is a 'ubiquitous part of urban life and culture' and, specifically, that walking is a 'significant social activity'.

By either considering walking as a socially produced practice or as a fundamental movement for social life, all these authors help foreground walking as a research subject within social disciplines. Having understood walking as a social practice in this way leads me to explore literature that had dealt with defining social practices. Specifically, I am interested in determining how to describe walking.

Keeping this in mind, I next review some of the propositions of 'practice theory' in sociology. I assess how it fits with my work and why I decided to adopt a more phenomenological conception of practices to investigate everyday walking and urban inequality.

2.1.1 Assessing the Adequacy of Social Practice Theory in Exploring Walking

Sarah Pink (2012, 16), in reviewing the main ideas of 'practice theories', suggests two uses for the word 'practice' in social sciences: 'As a descriptive term that refers to things people do', and as a theoretical tool for creating categories for sociological examination. The latter corresponds to these theories. Although they cannot be considered as unified, given the diversity among scholars' propositions, it can be said that they depart from the basis of considering 'that social practices form the context in which social orders are established' (Schatzki 2002, 70); therefore, practices are fundamental for the constitution of the social.

Pink (2012, 16) explains 'the development of practice theory in terms of the work of two generations of practice theorists'. She indicates that the first generation, whose work was prominent in the 1970's-80's, was led by scholars such as Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. While they consider practices are fundamental for social life constitution, they

‘admit the existence of a phenomena outside of the realm of practice’, those are major processes that ‘constitute “external forces” which structure people’s daily conduct’ (Nicolini 2017, 100). In the case of Bourdieu, for example, as Ingold (2000, 162) shows, he states the role of embodied and practical involvement in the ways people feel and think about the world, which Bourdieu calls ‘habitus’, a concept that had huge impact for social theory and research. It implies that it is through the practical activities of life that ‘people acquire the specific dispositions to attend to its features in the particular ways they do’ (Ingold 2000, 162).

However, there are some problematical issues in Bourdieu’s concept of habitus that Brenda Farnell (2000, 397) summarises saying that while it explains the role of practical bodily involvement for social practices, ‘it lacks an adequate conception of the nature and location of human agency’. The concept of habitus alludes to overarching ‘structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures’ (Bourdieu 1977, 72) leaving out individuals’ agency. The consequence of this belief, following Davide Nicolini (2017, 100), is a division in the analysis of the social between entities such as the economy, class, religion, etc., and the ‘mundane social intercourse’, assumed to be ‘made of different ontological stuff’.

Scholars of the second wave, while inspired by the first generation, go further in the understanding of social practices to be the core of social life (Schatzki 1996, 2002, Reckwitz 2002, Shove, Pantzar, and Watson 2012, Hui, Schatzki, and Shove 2017). They do not agree with this ontological differentiation between more structured processes different in nature to more mundane activities. They understand that ‘even the most ordinary “micro” situations and discursive interactions are extremely complex and intricate’, as much as those macro and structured social entities (Nicolini 2017, 100). These ideas allow me to consider pedestrian practices and socio-economic inequality in the same

level of analysis. It is not the case that socio-economic inequality is the structural setting in which urban walking takes place; instead, through walking practices urban inequality does not only reproduce itself but is constantly occurring as a lived experience for the pedestrian.

Second wave practice theory scholars have attempted to describe the elements that comprise social practices. Silvia Gherardi (2017) gives an insightful overview of their definitions. For example, Andreas Reckwitz says practices are ‘bodily and mental activities, objects or materials and shared competences, knowledge and skills’ (38); Elizabeth Shove, in turn, has ‘identified them in competences, meanings and materials’ (38); and in the case of Theodore Schatzki—to mention some relevant authors—he considers that ‘the elements that comprise a practice are linked to each other through five main mechanisms: practical understanding, rules, teleoaffective structure, general understanding and social memories’ (38). Therefore, to give an account of practices, it is argued, researchers should look at these features.

While practice theories could provide insights for defining some elements in my fieldwork observations, their understanding of practices is too constrained to define ‘the practice’ in itself. It seems to me to operate as a formula made by elements needed to be completed in order to, then, grasp the practices we observe. Pink’s (2012, 20) criticism of practice theory scholars points to the fact that in their analysis ‘they inevitably situate the individual practitioner in a way that is subordinate to the practice itself’. This, she follows, is not always compatible with ethnographic research, which is the nature of my own research, as ‘the study of practices, when undertaken ethnographically, cannot but also be the study of individuals as they are engaged in practices’ (21).

Indeed, I am not proposing here to study 'the practice of walking' in Santiago as a set of rules and actions, as practice theory would define it. While I could observe rules, skills and competences, they were quite subjective and difficult to generalise. Walkers have many casuistic rules and competencies they apply depending on changing situations. Instead, I direct my attention to the specific ways each research participant walked and created relationships through the encounters with materials and beings that made up their walks. This means considering their personal lived experience which 'invites us to ask further questions, such as how does the individual performance of practice intersect with, for instance, biography, memory, discourse, sensory experience, materiality, sociality or the weather' (Pink 2012, 21).

Individual performance and experience became, then, the analytical unit of my work, giving account of bodies, senses, perceptions and knowledge of places that I could access by sharing the experience of walking with people. I think that constraining my analysis to the elements proposed by practice theories would have stopped me giving attention to the context and places to which everyday practices are constitutive, and are constituted by. Therefore, while I shared the theoretical propositions of practices as 'the site' of social life (Schatzki 2002), I turned to more phenomenological conceptions of practices that allowed me to pay attention to what bodies do in their environments and to the lived experience of walking.

2.2 The Lived Experience of Walking: Perception as Participation

Lived experience is a category that allows me to describe how people walk, which is the foundation of my arguments. In this sense, my work is inspired by phenomenological insights which encourage 'detailed descriptions of how people immediately experience space, time, and the world in which they live' (Jackson 1996, 12). Exploring walking by understanding it as a movement in which the body enters into an immediate sensory

relationship with the environment, aligns my work with a body of literature that has addressed walking inspired, implicitly or explicitly, by phenomenological points of view (see Kusenbach 2003, Lee and Ingold 2006, Ingold and Vergunst 2008a, Matos Wunderlich 2008, Middleton 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2016, Vergunst 2010, 2011, Yi'En 2014). These scholars privilege the exploration of the lived experience by means of first-hand descriptions. In the case of my research, putting lived experience at the centre of attention permits me to investigate what changes in pedestrian experiences when people deal with places dramatically different due to socio-economic inequality.

My engagement with phenomenological theorizations about how we perceive the world responds to the nature of my research subject. In pursuing the aim of understanding how people live and engage with the world from pedestrian movement, I seek to play with the propositions phenomenologists have advanced, especially those concerning experience. Borrowing Maxine Sheets-Johnstone's (2010, 111-112) words justifying the importance of phenomenology in researching embodiment and movement:

In this respect, *phenomenology* is of foundational import; it cannot be ignored. Why is it? Because its fundamental concern is with experience and with giving veridical descriptive accounts of experience. If we leave experience behind, we leave life (real life) behind, with all its lived through meanings, motivations, feelings, thoughts, and so on.

I agree with her in the sense that in leaving experience out of our accountings of how people do things, we down-play life and its complexity. I value the fact that phenomenology encourages us 'to explore how we actually experience ourselves, and how our lifeworld appears to us under the ever-changing situations of everyday existence' (Jackson 2015, 300).

In this thesis, I will regularly mention the concept of lived experience, pedestrian experience or just experience. I use it to refer to those moments of going on foot, to the ongoing interactive and affective processes of perceiving places in the here and now through bodily movement. The category of 'experience' or 'lived experience' has other been used in works on walking (see Ingold and Vergunst 2008a, Middleton 2009, 2010, 2016, Vergunst 2010). For example, Vergunst (2010, 376) who carried out—together with Ingold—an investigation about pedestrian practices in Aberdeen, states that his interest is directed toward 'the immediacy of experience', which is 'reflected in phenomenological anthropology that takes as its starting point the experiencing subject emplaced within its environment'.

In developing a definition of the concept of experience, I find the explanations made by geographers Derek McCormack (2013) and Kirsten Simonsen (2007) useful. In the case of McCormack, he rejects conceiving experience as a category that straightforwardly opens the door for grasping what is real or present. Instead, he agrees with geographers that have developed what has been called 'non-representational theory' (Anderson and Harrison 2010) in taking the challenge of engaging in 'an affirmative critique of experience' (McCormack 2013, 22). This means to recognise the problem implied by the fact that experience is always exceeding our efforts for knowing what happens in the immediacy of people's lives and, at the same time, to take the opportunity to 'reclaim the category of experience as an occasion for thinking' (22).

McCormack recalls John Dewey's pragmatic propositions stating that what we experience is not experience in itself but interactions of things: 'Stones, plants, animals, diseases, health. Temperature, electricity, and so on. Things interacting in certain ways are experience; they are what is experienced' (Dewey quoted by McCormack 2013, 23). Dewey's pragmatism echoes some of the criticism made by 'practice theories' (see

Reckwitz 2002) or ‘actor network theory’ (see Latour 2005) against the reification of certain concepts such as ‘society’ in social sciences. This criticism invites us to ground our theories in what we can observe and describe, avoiding creating parallel theoretical dimensions that sometimes we insist on studying at the cost of not paying attention to the actual phenomenon we want to understand: life in the world. Thus, we perceive the world—we experience it—in the interactions or relations in which we participate. Walking is a way of interacting with the world; the lived experience of walking, then, would not be something separated from the encounters with things and beings: they make up pedestrians’ journeys.

Simonsen (2007, 169), in turn, draws on Merleau-Ponty’s ‘phenomenology of lived experience’ that allows her to explore the ‘embodied or practical knowledges and their formation in people’s everyday lives’. Lived experience, then, is about perceiving the world we inhabit through our everyday practices. She gives centrality to practices in understanding social living as ‘plied by a series of human practices’ which produce people’s knowledge of the places they inhabit day by day (169). One important point in Merleau-Ponty’s work she highlights is his consideration that ‘perception always involves “somebody” sensing something and that this somebody produces significance in the process’ (169). Therefore, to investigate lived experience we will pay attention to embodied participation in the processes of everyday life and the knowledge that emerges from it. Simonsen proposes that we think of perception in terms of participation. She says that ‘perception is not in the first instance an “experience” of objects, it is a conjunction and involvement with them’ (170). This idea of perception as participation is similar to Dewey’s of experience consisting in interactions. Both point at the involvement of the subject within the world and not some kind of detached or mediated observation of what is in front of the subject. To perceive, then, is to be involved; it is the meshing of the subject with the world.

These ideas of how practices allow us to participate in the world concur with those of Tim Ingold (2000, 2011). He also gets inspiration from phenomenologists Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Martin Heidegger, drawing their ideas together with James Gibson's work on ecological psychology. One of the key insights Ingold takes from them is 'that every person is, before all else, a being-in-the-world' (168). We participate in the life process of the world as bodies in it, therefore our practices and the knowledge produced through them are embodied. Ingold coins the formulation 'pathways of sensory participation' (2011, 18) to describe the way in which people perceive the environment while doing an activity. He takes from Gibson the premise that perceiving the world 'is not the achievement of a mind in a body, but of the organism as a whole in its environment, and is tantamount to the organism's own exploratory movement through the world' (2000, 3). I want to clarify this idea further since it helps me to depict the relationship between walkers and places. For example, Ingold explains that the dexterity required by a carpenter depends on the practitioner's consciousness of the activity, which is accomplished through 'pathways of sensory participation':

I contend that the essence of dexterity lies in the carpenter's capacity to bring into phase an ensemble of concurrent movements, both within and beyond the body. It is this attunement that makes the activity rhythmic rather than metronomic. Far from being merely habitual or "done without thinking", such rhythmic activity calls for intense concentration. This concentration, however, is that of a consciousness that is not confined within the head of the practitioner but reaches out into the environment along multiple pathways of sensory participation (2011, 18).

I use Ingold's conceptualization of 'pathways of sensory participation' to describe pedestrians' singular involvements with places: their ways of participating in places by sensing and knowing them. I take the idea that when you move through places by foot, you are participating in them and it is in that participation, practical and sensory, that you get to know them: you get to be able to tell stories about them. The knowledge we get by

perceiving the world in our movement, as Gibson suggests, ‘is thus *practical*, it is a knowledge about what an environment offers for the pursuance of the action in which the perceiver is currently engaged’ (Ingold 2000, 166). I turn to this concept particularly in chapter 4, where I describe pedestrians’ interactions with the materials of the places they pass through and identify processes of pedestrian place-making.

The understanding of practices as ways of participating in the environment concur with Sarah Pink’s (2012, 23) notion that practices ‘are part of an environment’; therefore, knowing the relationship of practitioners with their environment is key for researching everyday practices. Both Pink’s and Simonsen’s propositions invite me to pay attention to walking as an embodied and emplaced practice. Indeed, Simonsen (2007, 179) insists on the relevance of observing relations in their context to grasp and investigate social practices when she says that:

Contextuality refers to the situated character of social life, involving co-existence, connections and “togetherness” as a series of associations and entanglements in time-space. Practices produce contexts as plural and productive time-spaces. Each of these time-spaces is however also relational, articulated with multiscalar connections and trajectories.

As I have shown, paying attention to the lived experience of walkers—their perceptions through affective interactions—provides a way to grasp how people participate in the process of social life through their practices. Taking into consideration the theoretical insights of phenomenology related to the idea that a person is a being-in-the-world, it is possible to claim that we are our bodies and what surrounds our bodies:

The world emerges with its properties alongside the emergence of the perceiver in person, against the background of involved activity. Since the person is a being-in-the-world, the coming-into-being of the person is part and parcel of the process of coming-into-being of the world (Ingold 2000, 168).

These theoretical stories coincide with some of the stories I have learnt walking and talking with people in Santiago about how people participate in and create places while walking; either they feel exposed to risks or annoying situations or they feel more harmoniously encompassed in places. I rely on the concept of lived experience for it justifies integrating the sensory relationship between the body and the environment in our understanding of practices and social life. Social practices are part of the environment as Pink says; therefore, a phenomenological approach to walking practices helps to qualitatively appreciate how differences in environmental affordances and general conditions of places affect the practice and the knowledge of the world that emerges from it. Through everyday practices we have experiences of the places we inhabit in a process that consists of participating in or being involved with the surroundings. Therefore, investigating everyday practices calls for an understanding of the ways walking allows practitioners to participate in places and the knowledge that emerges from that participation.

Describing lived experiences of walking may be an endless task; therefore, I needed to concentrate on a few select aspects. Based on the ideas about practices as participation explored above, I decided to focus my descriptions on the materials pedestrians encountered on their journeys and on the affectivities that emerged during their walks. Previous work on walking has highlighted its material dimension (see Vergunst 2010, Middleton 2010, Tilley 2012, Kärholm et al. 2017). Walking implies materials getting in touch as part of the process of bodies encountering places (see section 4.1). Moreover, since my interest is in the intersection of pedestrian practices and socio-spatial inequality—which impact on the presence and qualities of materials in places—exploring how the specific materials of different places affect walkers, as well as the relationships walkers establish with them, is fundamental to answering my research questions. This

focus leads me to attend to the conditions of the environment and the sensory and perceptive aspects of walking.

Considering, as well, my interest in exploring the back-and-forth relationship between urban walkers and the city, I also focused on the affectivities that emerge during journeys on foot—which is likewise highlighted as key by many previous studies of walking (see section 5.2). The perception of the environment that occurs while walking produces emotions, feelings and sensations that sociologist Rachel Thomas (2007) defines as the ‘affective anchorage/bonding’ of walking. Paying attention to this more subjective dimension allows me to better explore differences in the experience of walking tied to the subjective agency and capacities of walkers which are linked to conditions such as gender, age, routines, lifestyle, etc. This affective dimension is central to understanding how walkers respond to what they encounter on their journeys and how they value their practice. It is from describing these two interrelated aspects of the lived experience of walking—materials more related with the sensory dimension and affectivities with subjective agencies—that I started to build the arguments I progressively develop through the empirical chapters.

2.3 Making Places while Walking

So far, I have been using the words ‘place’ and ‘environment’ indistinctly. It is not the case that I necessarily consider both to be synonymous. However, they may overlap when I explain that people walk through places and people become part of environments in singular ways while walking. Geographers and anthropologists have made important efforts in defining what we understand as place and how we differentiate it, for example, from space (Tuan 1977, de Certeau [1980] 1984, Massey 2005, Ingold 2011, Cresswell 2014). Less discussed has been the differentiation between the use of the concepts of ‘environment’ and ‘place’ that I mobilise here. I use the concept of environment in a loose

way to refer to the arrangements of materials and beings in the constant process of becoming in which we live and of which we are part. I generally use it to talk about what surrounds people, just as I use the word 'world' following the ideas of scholars inspired by phenomenological insights. Ingold (2000, 20) defines environment in relation to the organisms that are part of it. Each organism is immersed in and part of an environment. In that way, he avoids the notion of an external setting in which humans happen to live: humans one side, the environment on the other. Therefore, he explains that for himself as an organism the environment 'is the world as it exists and takes on meaning in relation to me, and in that sense it came into existence and undergoes development with me and around me'. Then he adds that 'so long as life goes on, they [environments] are always under construction' through the actions of living beings.

Simply put, I understand places as occurring in environments through the entanglement of relationships that living beings create. However, I do not want to outline clear boundaries for the use of these concepts, nor do I think they are needed. Instead, I want to make clear that I use the concept of place to emphasise human activity and the relationships people create with what is around. I follow Doreen Massey's (2005, 141) ideas about place as 'event', as a 'constellation of processes' or a 'coming together of trajectories' occurring in a space and a time. What is interesting in Massey's understanding is that place is not defined as a bounded phenomenon where people are in or out. Instead, place occurs in the movement and coming together of things and beings. This idea is shared by Ingold (2011, 149), who understands places as 'knots'. He describes people's lives as trails and 'where inhabitants meet, trails are entwined, as the life of each becomes bound up with the other' (148) places occur. Therefore, places can be understood as entanglements of 'lifelines' (148).

Conceiving places as events, encounters or as entwining of lifelines, allows me to explore the role of walking practices in the process of place-making. Academic debates 'have established the idea of walking as a form of place-making' (Pink 2009, 151). Walking affords singular ways of getting in touch with other things and beings. Most of the characteristics of those encounters are related to the kind of sensory relationship with the environment moving on foot permits (Adams 2001, Thomas 2007, Middleton 2010, Tilley 2012). In their research on walking practices in Aberdeen, Lee and Ingold (2006, 68) stress these sensory aspects of pedestrian place-making:

A place walked through is made by the shifting interaction of person and environment, in which the movement of the whole body is important rather than just an act of vision outwards from a fixed point. In walking we are on the move, seeing and feeling a route ahead of us and creating a path around and after us.

Probably every mobility practice can be considered as a practice of place-making. Walking is singular in the way the body engages with the places the person goes through: 'Seeing walking as place-making brings to the fore the idea that places are made through people's embodied and multisensorial participation in their environments' (Pink 2009, 77). Furthermore, regarding the singularity of walking in urban environments, Rachel Thomas understands the role of walking as 'the instrument of composition of the city' (2007, 15). Going through places by foot the walker participates in them both by being affected by them as much as responding to them. It is the understanding of this two-directional relationship walking permits that serves as the base for formulating my main research question about how everyday walking practices are affected by and respond to the unequal conditions of places in Santiago.

These conceptualizations about how we relate with the environment while walking, permit us to understand, in turn, the practical knowledge of places people produces while walking that continuously nourishes pedestrian practices: people's decisions about

whether to walk or not, when, with whom, at what times, to what purposes, which attitude to adopt, etc. This knowledge has been called a ‘peripatetic sense of place’ by Adams (2001, 188). He describes it as ‘a special kind of knowledge of the world and one’s place in it’ which emerges from the ‘physical dialogue’ walking creates. Adams understand that walking ‘through a place is to become involved in that place with sight, hearing, touch, smell, the kinetic sense called proprioception, and even taste’. Therefore, this knowledge of places has a sensorial quality that can be understood as a kind of sense: a practical and sensory knowledge. It can be described in the way Michael Taussig (1992, 147) does for the type of knowledge that emerges from everyday life which he depicts as a sensuousness due to the role senses and perception play on its formation:

But what of sort of sense is constitutive of this everydayness? Surely this sense includes much that is not sense so much as sensuousness, an embodied and somewhat automatic “knowledge” . . . that lies as much in the objects and spaces of observation as in the body and mind of the observer. What’s more, this sense has an activist, constructivist, bent; not so much contemplative as it is caught in *media res* working on, making anew, amalgamating, acting and reacting.

In the emergence of this knowledge, it is key the involvement in places through everyday practices. These considerations coincide with Simonsen’s (2007, 169) idea ‘that people’s understanding of the world comes out of their everyday practices’. The everyday aspect of this knowledge is significant here. By translating these ideas to the practice of walking in the city, I understand that the way we move in our everydayness impacts the practical knowledge we gain of the city, which also affects our possibilities to perform future practices of movement and the whole sense we forge about the places we inhabit. It is worthwhile, then, to explore the specific knowledge of the city that emerges from particular pedestrian trajectories as they affect people’s possibilities to be in and move through the city (see chapter 7). In other words, by walking through places a pedestrian sense of the world emerges which will be affected by the conditions of the places people walk and, at the same time, will be contested and recreated by walkers and their own

personal capacities. A play of power and possibilities is enacted in the everyday act of making the city through walking.

2.4 Walking and Everyday Life

We have started to see the connections between walking and everyday life. No doubt, people walking in cities is one of the most common scenes of urban life. Perhaps most of us walk a bit, or more than a bit, every day with varied purposes. This link has been explored by theorists on everyday life, especially by de Certeau ([1980] 1984) in the chapter 'Walking in the City' from his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*. In reviewing specific academic work on walking, the relation between walking and everyday life also appears recurrently: 'everyday pedestrian practices' (Middleton 2011b); walking as an 'ordinary feature of everyday life' (Lorimer 2011); 'everyday walking practices' (Matos Wunderlich 2008); 'everyday practice of walking' (Augoyard [1979] 2007); 'daily walking practices' (Edensor 2010).

The concept of everyday life has been largely discussed in the academic arena. Some definitions depict it as the pre-reflexive, taken-for-granted aspects of life's reproduction; this account of everyday life has emerged especially from elitist circles of intellectuals trying to understand a supposed 'non-intellectual relationship of people with the world' which they depict as tedious and banal (Felski 1999, 16). This understanding is shaped by anchored beliefs, ideologies, and social domination strategies (Highmore 2002, 1, Lalive d'Epinay 2008, 11). In this vein, some activities are depicted as minor because they do not hold the prestige of other, hypothetically, more specialised activities. I do not engage here in depth with this debate. On the contrary, what is useful to my work is bringing to the discussion a particular understanding of what we call everyday life that puts at the centre the interrelated, organised and skilful doings of people in carrying out their lives no matter how minor or unimportant their activities are judged by society.

Among authors that address everyday life accounting for its complexity and meaning, I focus on the writings of Henri Lefebvre (2014), Michel de Certeau ([1980] 1984), and Jean-François Augoyard ([1979] 2007) as they share an interest in urban life. Moreover, the last two authors are key references in the study of urban walking, while Lefebvre (2014) opened-up the investigation of everyday life by breaking with a Marxist negative view of everyday tasks in terms of alienation (25). Consequently, refusing to consign the tasks of everyday life to a sphere of minor importance, Lefebvre considers that all aspects of life are related to each other in the level of the everyday, which is the level of lived experience. He understands the everyday as a 'common ground', a totality from which social life emerges as ordinary and extraordinary, simple and complex, tedious and marvellous:

Everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground. And it is in everyday life that the sum of total relations which make the human—and every human being—a whole takes its shape and its form. In it are expressed and fulfilled those relations which bring into play the totality of the real, albeit in a certain manner which is always partial and incomplete: friendship, comradeship, love, the need to communicate, play, etc. (119).

Even while Lefebvre's definition of everyday life is a good starting point, it seems to me that he keeps conceiving the everyday as if it were a realm in itself, outlining that way an externality that may render investigation of practices confusing. In this regard, de Certeau ([1980] 1984) and Augoyard's ([1979] 2007) contributions are helpful. In their explanation of everyday life they avoid definitions and emphasise attending to what people do every day. Furthermore, their works reflect specifically on urban walking as a paradigmatic everyday activity.

De Certeau is greatly inspired in his understanding of everyday walking practices by Augoyard's empirical research in L'Arlequin, a neighbourhood located in the outskirts of Grenoble in France. Some of the concepts de Certeau uses to describe walkers' ways of

operating in the city such as ‘appropriation’ and ‘rhetoric’ can be retrieved in Augoyard’s work. One fundamental idea both share is that in order to know people’s everyday life we need to pay attention to the micro-scale of human practices. For Augoyard ([1979] 2007, 162-163), dwellers’ practices are ways of expressing their particular lived experience of the everyday. In that sense, practices are heterogeneous and creative:

Everyday existence expresses itself *practically* in the modes of inhabiting that express in turn an autonomous power of expression. This autonomy, which can be defined in theoretical terms by the notion of complication, is not an everyday delusion that would be superimposed upon the prosaic “usage” of the laid-out and developed space. Quite to the contrary, when recognised as expression, a lived experience of inhabiting *has the power to deform* these habitat situations one hardly chooses, to remove from them the unimaginable reality with which they are adorned. A collective habitat is perhaps even a matter of choice—yet, it is inevitable in present-day building production—about which everyday lived experience can manifest its buried and unnoticed powers.

Augoyard’s work relates urban walking and everyday life in a fundamental way as a result of his empirical research. As well as de Certeau, he dismisses the temptation of proclaiming ‘what’ everyday life is. Instead he deliberately advocates paying attention to ‘how’ it expresses itself through pedestrian narratives (172). His work consists, thus, in exploring the pedestrian modes of expression through the analysis of walking rhetorics that ‘would be the translation of both the organization of the styles proper to each inhabitant and the correlations among these styles within a shared space’ (26). However, it is difficult to figure out what he means by saying that the everyday expresses itself since that way of formulating it—it seems to me—gives the idea of an everyday that pre-exists people’s practices.

The interesting aspect in de Certeau’s ([1980] 1984) work is that he develops a theoretical perspective on everyday life that keeps practices at the forefront. One of his contentions is that everyday practices ‘depend on a vast ensemble which is difficult to delimit but which we may provisionally designate as an ensemble of *procedures*’ (43). He criticises the

idea that people's procedures are totally restrained by social rules and limited only to reproduce social order. This is his contribution to a political perspective of the everyday. The shift de Certeau presents, which concurs with Augoyard's ideas, is the acknowledgement of practitioners' agency: in their ordinary doings practitioners deploy an inventiveness which is one of the 'very ancient art of "making-do"' (30). Through tricks and ruses they resist the rules and dispositions imposed by 'subjects of will and power' (xix). Using Augoyard's words: they play out '*the power to deform*'. This game of powers is what de Certeau illustrates with his well-known concepts of 'tactic' and 'strategy' (see section 2.5.1).

De Certeau and Augoyard's theoretical propositions about the inventiveness or creativity people play out in their everyday practices are relevant in my work since I make sense of how unequal conditions shape walking practices and, at the same time, how walkers recreate and take the most out of those conditions. Regarding walkers' creativity and agency, Augoyard says in the conclusions of his work: 'The study of everyday walks indicates, on the contrary, that there really is much more creative movement, configuration, and dynamic tension going on in the humblest acts of inhabiting than in the very process that produces the contemporary built world' (Augoyard [1979] 2007, 176).

It is necessary to acknowledge that these ideas of creativity and resistance around the everyday pedestrian have not been received without criticism (see Morris 2004, Middleton 2011b, 93-94). It has been argued that they potentiate a heroic characterization of the walker and a romanticized view of the everyday 'reified as a pure, pristine realm, heroically unbowed' (Latham 2003, 1998). David Pinder (2011, 672) has called attention to the commonplace that considering walking as a 'creative, elusive, and resistive practice' has become. From my point of view, the positive critique of everyday practices has been fruitful in adding complexity to our understanding of them, but certainly a romanticized

idea of the everyday urban walker may run the risk of neglecting differences among walkers and the privileged and less privileged conditions under which many walkers perform their practices which constitute the point of departure for my own work.

Summing up, grounding walking within the framework of everyday life opens-up the scope for considering people's inventive ways of enacting urban spaces in the carrying out of their day to day lives. I have considered seminal authors who have researched everyday walking practices, retrieving from them a recognition of the creativeness as well as the political aspects of walking. I do this not without paying attention to the criticism about the risk these ideas run of romanticizing and homogenising the act of walking. In the case of Augoyard, for example, looking to define the figures of the pedestrian rhetoric, he does not pay much attention to walkers' stories and lived experiences. Augoyard and de Certeau's works miss differences among walkers and their ways of walking, many of them effects of social and economic inequality. In the specific case of de Certeau, he attends to power in his theory of everyday life through the well-known concepts of 'tactic' and 'strategy' (see section 2.5.1); however, de Certeau 'does not discuss different social and spatial practices of walking, involving who is doing the walking, [and] how and why they are walking, under what circumstances' (Pile 1996, 228-229). To do so, I propose a micropolitics of walking, which I explain next.

2.5 Different Ways of Walking the Unequal City

Walking entails different experiences depending on who walks (male, female, rich, poor, disabled person, child, old people, etc.); what the purpose is (transport, exploring, health, thinking, pleasure, no purpose et all, etc.); where people walk (which city, which neighbourhood, street, park, etc.); if they chose to walk or they have no other choice. In this section, formed by four subsections, I argue for the relevance of considering diversity in urban walking practices, also to overcome assumptions of the homogeneity of people's

everyday lives. By doing so, I am developing a research perspective focused on differences. In this section I define what dimension of urban inequality I am addressing in order to explore differences in walking experiences. Finally, I suggest outlining a micropolitics of the practice of walking so as to be able to grasp the experiential aspect of the socio-spatial conditions in which people's trajectories by foot are situated.

2.5.1 A Non-Homogeneous Everyday Life

As I showed in the previous section, there is a tendency when researching everyday urban life to consider everyday activities and practitioners in a homogeneous way. This is the case of de Certeau ([1980] 1984) who introduces a perspective of power so as to think about everyday practices through the concepts of 'tactic' and 'strategy'. Everyday procedures of practitioners are tactics; they correspond to the 'calculus which cannot count a "proper" (a spatial or institutional localization)' (xix); they correspond to the practices of ordinary people he calls the art of the weak (37). Strategies, on the other hand, are the ways the strong act through a 'calculus of force-relationships' (xix); the strong have a 'proper locus', which means that their actions are autonomous because they own a proper terrain of action (37). The weak plays, instead, in a field imposed by other: the strong; therefore, everyday practitioners' actions can aspire only to take the most out of what they find in terrains ordered by the strong (subjects of will and power): they can only move tactically through ruses and tricks (xviii-xix).

In the case of pedestrians these ruses can be, for example, making use of the planned space in unexpected ways, for unforeseen purposes. If the aim of city planners (the strong) is to create a legible and ordered space, pedestrians would bring back heterogeneity to the urban grid with their paces, resisting in that way the order imposed from above. Nevertheless, de Certeau's major idea about everyday practitioners' resistance runs the risk of leading us to deny walkers' heterogeneity. Conceiving pedestrians' movements

essentially as the weak's tactics neglects power differences and privileges among walkers and among urban dwellers in general. It 'elevate[s] pedestrians to an heroic level' wrapping us in the illusion of considering walking as a uniform practice in which 'there seems to be no subjective notion of class, gender, racial or any other identities which are attributable both to specific forms of power exercised over space or the identity of pedestrians' (Edensor 1998, 43). Therefore, to define pedestrian practices essentially as resistant, even when walking may play a political role of resistance, ends up erasing diversity by erasing the perspective of oppressive/privileged experiences of walking.

Reducing the politics of walking to the struggle between the powerful urban system against the weak ordinary people obscures the micropolitics that takes place within pedestrian situations, which means that some people have greater possibilities to perform the practice than others. As Morris (2004, 679) says:

Social practices of walking rarely conform to this either/or model. It is never simply a case of 'us' and 'them', or individual walkers versus the city authorities who seek to organize the movement and dispositions of bodies in urban space, as Certeau's model implies.

The complexities of everyday walking practices are poorly accounted for in this binary scheme. In the same vein, Simon During emphasises the necessity to consider difference in everyday life, understanding that the everyday 'is produced and experienced at the intersection of many fields by embodied individuals' (During (1993) cited by Morris 2004, 691). Therefore, there is a need for considering 'particular bodies-subjects and specific urban locations in discussing everyday practices like walking' (Morris 2004, 691).

My work is committed to accounting for differences in the lived experiences of walking as a way to make visible how everyday pedestrian practices intersect with urban inequality. I draw inspiration from the essay by Michel Taussig (1992, 141) about tactility. He

emphasises that to hold the sameness of everyday life ‘suggests the trace of a diffuse commonality in the commonweal so otherwise deeply divided, a commonality that is no doubt used to manipulate consensus’. Thus, we run the risk of defining the everyday as a homogeneous reality and thus erasing the struggles and conflicts that take place in social practices. I propose a way of overcoming the illusion of considering the everyday as a homogeneous reality through the exploration of the lived experience in pedestrian practices of different people living in different parts of the city, aiming to grasp especially how they intersect with socio-economic inequality. To that purpose, I move next to discuss the ideas I mobilise when talking about urban inequality.

2.5.2 Spatial Expression of Socio-Economic Inequality

To talk about inequality implies talking about intersecting conditions that give subjects more or less power, which give privileges to some and exclude others. One of the most evident sources of inequality, and probably what comes first to mind when the word inequality is used, is economic inequality. For example, in his entry about inequality in the *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Geoffrey Deverteuil (2009) traces back the theoretical tradition on inequality to Marxist urban political economy of the 1970’s (433). Inequality as such is a descriptive term. It describes a relation of disparity between elements or, using Deverteuil’s words: ‘Arithmetic inequality refers to a situation in which people are receiving unequal quantities of some attribute within a given distribution’ (434). Deverteuil emphasises the effects of economic inequality since it conditions the ‘access to and quality of various elements of social well-being—including nutrition, shelter, health, education, employment opportunities, clean environments, leisure, security, social stability, and so forth—[which] are increasingly determined by purchasing ability’ in the capitalist societies in which most of the global population live (434). He also explains how inequalities of different sources intersect with each other. For example, economic inequalities and class inequalities interact with other differences that entail

exclusion in our societies such as ethnicity, gender, age, abilities, and so on, impacting people's 'power, opportunity, and life chances' (434).

Commonly we hear about types of inequality that originate in differences such as income, gender, class, etc. Based on these differences, power relations of privilege, exclusion and oppression operate; we call inequality the way social relations work upon these differences. We make a judgment about the injustice implied within those relations. For example, André Béteille (2002, 1019) says that 'what transforms differences into inequalities are scales of evaluation'. In this sense, inequality is accessed through a reflexive and critical exercise in which scales of value based on a 'sense of what ought to be fair' intervene to define when society and/or researchers will consider a situation of difference as unequal (1019).

In the case of urban studies, cities have been understood as enclaves of diversity (Pile 1999, McDowell 1999). Difference, division and their spatial expression are subjects of interest from the time of the Chicago School of Sociology to the present (Bridge and Watson 2011). One of the most studied phenomena is spatial segregation which was firstly conceived as a natural process of differentiation in urban development (Park, Burgess, and McKenzie 1967). Later, with the influence of critical theory, scholars such David Harvey (1988) and Henri Lefebvre (1996) introduced the idea that social order and power relationships shape space and, in turn, space shapes them.

Regarding urban space and justice, Harvey (1988) conceives urban dwellers' resources and income in a broader way. He considers the spatial dimension as a resource that impacts people's 'real income' redistribution. Harvey challenges the idea of a 'natural' redistribution of spatial resources adding to the debate the question of their availability. He envisages 'access' and 'proximity' to resources as relevant characteristics to consider:

Recently, the concept [of resource] has been extended to things like amenities and open space, but there is still an unfortunate tendency to think of resources as “natural”. I think it far more satisfactory to regard the city as a gigantic resource system, most of which is man-made. It is also an areally localized resource system in the sense that most of the resources we make use of in the city system are not ubiquitous and their availability, therefore, depends upon accessibility and proximity (68-69).

Conceptualising the city as a resources system implies rendering more complex the analysis of urban inequalities since it asks for the consideration of more than just people's income. It opens the way to evaluate less tangible features as it can be the “quality of urban environment” (Harvey 1988, 70) or, I would add, the quality of the lived experiences of the city.

In the same vein, Fran Tonkiss (2013, 60) claims that ‘cities are machines for producing inequality’. She considers that, currently, one of the most pervasive forms of inequality is related to income distribution, which needs to be analysed considering space as a factor that at the same time produces inequality and reproduces it, embedding in places ‘socio-economic disparities’ (61). Tonkiss explains how cities’ mechanisms such as ‘land and employment market, legal divisions, cultural solidarities and differences’ (69) spatialize diversity and convert it in spatial divisions. One of the topics that has been more attended to by geographers in the study of urban inequalities and space is spatial segregation, probably ‘the most obvious spatial correlate of economic inequality in the city’ (69).

Usually, segregation is investigated using a variety of indexes that measure aspects such as the distribution of populations of different socio-economic levels within the city and the degree of mixing of these populations in urban space. Sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1988) have explored twenty of these indexes and have conceptually grouped them into five dimensions: evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization and clustering. The diversity of aspects that can be considered when studying spatial

segregation shows the complexity of the processes through which people group together in space.

Divisions in the city may respond to a range of differences. The segregation of urban space is not in itself a perverse spatial pattern. Some forms of segregation can be even beneficial in terms of community protection and job opportunities for minority groups; living in proximity 'may work to mitigate wider urban inequalities rather than simply reflecting them' (Tonkiss 2013, 74). What becomes problematic is when these spatial patterns express and reproduce power relationships in the form of coercion and exclusion: 'The key issue here is the degree to which segregation is coercive, constrained or compulsory, as opposed to more or less "freely" chosen' (73). Therefore, inequality is about power relationships working upon differences.

In the case of Santiago de Chile, urban segregation expresses class and income differences, as I discussed in the introduction. What is critical is not just that living in certain places of the city implies owning or renting a less expensive house, but to what extent the location of residence you can afford is related to access to environmental resources, amenities, transport availability, quality of education, and so on, and how those conditions impact on your everyday life. Moreover, many of the negative elements of living in deprived areas of the city such as high crime rates and a sense of insecurity are part of the same problem of social exclusion and lack of possibilities, reproducing a vicious circle which means the failure of the public management of the city: 'The incomes of people determine the character of the neighbourhood they live in to a significant degree, but this character is influenced in important ways by public and collective provision and intervention' (Tonkiss 2013, 76).

2.5.3 Walking Unequally the Unequal City

How do walking practices intersect with these conditions of urban inequality? Before explaining that question, I shall recall some features about what it is to walk in the city (see section 1.1). Walking in urban settlements entails specificities that affect the way we move and the experiences we have. Probably because cities organise movement through already established paths (streets) and because walking is embedded within a major system of mobilities, it acquires the characteristics of a transport means in which people move by foot in covering distances. However functional a journey on foot may be, the sensorial and embodied dimension of habitual journeys is still relevant as Jennie Middleton (2009, 2010, 2011a, 2016) demonstrates in her work exploring everyday trajectories on foot in London. She understands walking ‘as a socio-technical assemblage that enables specific attention to be drawn to the embodied, material and technological relations and their significance for engaging with everyday urban movements on foot’ (2010, 575). Thus, she explores the complexity of the lived experiences that constitute journeys on foot, paying attention to the transformations that take place during a walk. The fact of defining walking as an assemblage allows her to acknowledge the relational nature of pedestrian experiences and how different elements merge together in walking situations, rendering it complex however habitual it may be: sensorial experiences, affectivities, materials and many more elements can become part of a walk thus transforming it. In that sense, the same walk can be ‘different sorts of walking’ (Kärrholm et al. 2017).

Considering that mobility practices are social practices, then the way we move responds as well to the socio-economic conditions of places, people’s own economic possibilities and also to the social representation of mobility practices. John Urry (2000) highlights the importance of socio-economic conditions in the possibilities people have of performing walking. He mentions how urban walking needs to be considered in connection with other

ways of movement and class difference, which in urban spaces becomes a crucial issue as socio-economic differences shape greatly the way cities are built and lived. While research participants of different socio-economic groups tended to consider walking as a good activity, some of them—especially those living in high-income areas who moved mainly by car—tended to consider walking a potentially uncomfortable activity when used as an everyday means of transportation or as a way to reach public transport. Therefore, an important aspect of walking in the city is related to who walks, where and how; this leads us to consider how differences of class affect the practice of walking.

The features and conditions of the places we live and move through are experienced through movement (see section 2.2). The same kind of relation of co-production that has been recognised to exist between space and socio-economic inequality (how socio-economic inequality is expressed in urban space) can be applied to everyday ways of going through the city; therefore, I understand that socio-economic inequality influences pedestrian experiences. Paola Jirón, Walter Imilan and María Bertrand (2010, 31) in their analysis of urban daily mobility and social exclusion have highlighted that ‘the multidimensional nature of social exclusion manifests itself in the unequal, differentiated access to means and mechanisms of urban daily mobility’. Therefore, inequality is expressed not only through the conditions of the neighbourhoods in which people dwell, but also in the possibilities and experiences those people have for daily movement across the city. Jirón, Imilan and Bertrand criticise the fact that in Chile ‘inequality and social exclusion have been mainly analysed from a residential segregation perspective’ (31) which limits the understanding of the problem of inequality and social exclusion. If in the 1970’s critical theory about justice and urban space drove the debate to consider space as a resource, now with mobilities studies we are encouraged to consider movement as a resource as well that needs to be explored from a political perspective such as inequality.

Following this call, in the last decade Chilean scholars have questioned urban conditions beyond static perspectives of analysis. They have started to show interest in the way people move through the segregated city, exploring the relation of mobility practices with social exclusion and inequality (see Jirón 2007, Ureta 2008, Avellaneda and Lazo 2011). These works have made great progress in understanding inequality as a 'multidimensional phenomenon' (Jirón 2007, 45) that needs to be explored from a variety of perspectives, including movement. However, most of these works are focused on the lack of access to means of transport (Ureta 2008, Avellaneda and Lazo 2011) or on the qualities and experiences of daily trips in general (Jirón 2008, 2010a). Walking is addressed incidentally within descriptions of everyday journeys, without having been attended to more seriously in considering its specificities, particularly the kind of relationship it generates with urban places. I argue that investigating pedestrian practices would allow us to rethink the way urban inequality is lived and give space to consider the kind of relationships urban dwellers can or cannot build with the environment, which is more than simply an issue of having access to resources.

This interest shown by Chilean scholars working in the field of mobilities concurs with those working on mobilities globally, who have shown awareness of the uneven conditions and political consequences of different modes of movement. For example, it has been claimed that the mobility of some people implies the immobility of others (Jensen 2009, Cresswell 2010) and that we need to be aware of this 'power geometry' (Massey 1991, 25) which creates exclusion. Recently, more critical works within this paradigm call attention to less explored ways of movement, walking among them (see Vannini 2009). Thinking in terms of power and asymmetries, researching on walking presents a particular defiance because it is part of a constellation of 'alternative mobilities' (Vannini 2009), which is marginal within a mobility system centred on more technological means of movement. In many contemporary cities, walking is not considered an efficient or desired way to be

mobile. Regarding western societies' 'ideology of movement' (Urry 2007, 18), it seems more a form of immobility if we compare it to cars or planes, which emphasises the need for exploring these marginal modes of movement of hypermobile life (Jensen 2009, xvii). Besides showing this interest, walking practices and how they relate with urban inequality has not had much attention from mobilities studies. The subtler aspects of the practice of everyday walking, such as the lived experience of moving through cities, remain underexplored.

What is the contribution of exploring walking practices in the research context of urban inequality, mobility and transport research? I propose to research the practice of walking attending to its singularities: the small scale, the low speed and the sensory and tactile engagement with the environment that walking provides. Walking serves daily mobility, but at the same time it permits dwelling in the city in a way that configures an experience of presence that other means cannot have in such an intensive way, due to speed and technological mediation. I argue that exploring this way of being in and moving through the city allows us to make sense of subtle forms of inequality that take place within the embodied relationship between dwellers and urban space affecting people's possibilities or capacities for inhabiting the city. I am inspired by Tonkiss' (2013, 89-90) assertion saying that 'economic inequality and social power are reproduced not only through formal property divisions and entitlements, but also through more ordinary and minor practices of occupying space, and the management of social proximity and distance'. The intersection between socio-spatial conditions of places and walking shows that effects of spatial segregation do not relate only to access to goods and services in the city, as discussed by literature on urban segregation and mobilities, but also to possibilities for experiencing the city that are allowed or restrained; therefore, it shows how inequality is embodied in the lived experience of the city.

2.5.4 A Micropolitics of Walking

To make sense of the lived experience of walking the unequal city, my thesis outlines a micropolitics of walking. Exploring walking situations by considering particularly how socio-spatial conditions of places becomes part of them, leads me to the field of personal agency. Based on the participant observation of how walkers relate with the places they walk, I analyse the power relationships walkers enter into during their everyday journeys. Therefore, with this micropolitical exploration I direct my attention not so much to urban walking, but mainly to urban walkers: who walks, where and how.

As I showed above, de Certeau ([1980] 1984) enunciates a politics of walking in his understanding of walking as a resistant and tactical activity (see section 2.5.1). I showed that his account has been criticised for romanticizing walkers' practices, obscuring some other political issues at stake when people walk. Besides the widespread consideration of walking as a positive activity, it is performed in situations in which intersecting conditions, wills and needs operate at different levels: among walkers, in their relationship with other means of transport, with the design and management of urban spaces, etc. Following this vein, I have argued for the need to pay attention to the diversity of ways of walking in the city: not everyone in the city walks in the same way. Agreeing with the theoretical assertion about the 'ubiquity of power as part of social relations' (Watson 2017, 169), I understand that the practice of walking entails struggles, conflicts and possibilities that need to be considered to better understand what happens when people walk and how differentiated everyday lives are built within pedestrian experiences. This is especially true when we study walking in cities that, as Tonkiss—quoted before—suggests, are producers of inequality.

The majority of the work on walking that have addressed issues of power, differences and inequality have focused mainly on analysing subjective identities such as gender, cultural

minorities or age, among others (Myers 2011, Horton et al. 2014, Warren 2017). Few works have addressed walking in the city exploring the struggles and conflicts it entails at the level of the lived experience of the socio-economic conditions of places. One of the few researchers on walking that have investigated empirically similar issues is Jennie Middleton (2016), who explores how pedestrian experiences are sites of negotiation. She addresses a 'politics of walking' (15) based on the analysis of walkers' experiences in London. Middleton uses the concept of the right to the city 'in relation to mobility and the frequently contested use of urban space on foot as means of opening up new ways of thinking about everyday urban politics' (7). Furthermore, she states the need for examining everyday practices considering a power perspective, paying attention to the fact that 'who can walk in certain urban spaces, and where, is mediated by a series of power relations' (7).

This assertion helps me to place my work in the debate about urban walking as I am exploring urban inequality from the perspective of the lived experience of individuals, making sense of how certain socio-spatial conditions affect their capacities (individual performances of power) of inhabiting the city. In that sense, I am adding a 'how' to Middleton's questions, which links the debate around power and inequality with the lived experience of the city. As I mentioned in the introduction, in Santiago many people on a low-income actually walk in the neighbourhoods of high-income areas. However, even while they may walk through those streets for years, they may not experience those streets as theirs. They do not feel those paths to be part of their city. The 'how' question, then, is crucial to make sense of unequal dynamics at play in lived experiences on foot as it allows us to grasp these subtle but meaningful aspects that the notion of 'access', for example, does not permit.

Consequently, when I talk about a micropolitical perspective I am referring to this ‘who, where and how’. The relevant issue at stake here is acknowledging how power plays in everyday experiences, which lets us incorporate in our understanding of urban politics, the lived experience dimension: What changes in pedestrian experiences when people walk through different places in the unequal city? This is one of the questions I address through these pages. My exploration has followed the path of analysing of people’s capacities to act in their everyday journeys on foot. To do that analysis I resorted to the concepts of ‘enablement’ and ‘constraint’ (Bissell 2016), and ‘force fields’ (Gatt 2013), all of which helped me to outline a micropolitics of walking in Santiago.

Therefore, in investigating the work of power in walkers’ experiences I pay attention to the micro scale of the body in relation with places. I draw on David Bissell’s (2016, 397) take on it: ‘Micropolitics refers to the barely perceived transitions in power that occur in and through situated encounters’. Bissell’s ideas on micropolitics are inspired mostly by Gilles Deleuze’s interpretation of Baruch Spinoza’s theory about the body, which he ‘understood in terms of its capacities to do and sense [that] are changed by the encounters that it has’ (397). Therefore, I talk about walkers’ capacities to refer to their subjective power to do and sense throughout the performance of their walks. In other words, I explore walkers’ agencies concerned particularly with their possibilities for choosing (or not) how to perform their practices.

Bissell uses the concepts of ‘enablement’ and ‘constraint’ to unfold his micropolitical analysis of commuting practices in Australia. I have adopted them due to their potential to describe everyday situations and transitions in power relationships. They allow us to describe urban dwellers’ agencies. Bissell states that ‘different qualities of encounter do different things. Some encounters are constructive and might enhance a body’s capacity to act, which Spinoza called joyful encounters. Others are destructive and diminish its

capacity to act, which Spinoza termed sorrowful' (397). Taking on these ideas, when some situations potentiate the capacity of walkers to do and sense, I talk about enablement; on the contrary, when situations diminish that capacity, I refer to constrictions. Consequently, I start the empirical chapters by describing how materials and affectivities of journeys enable or constrain walkers' capacities (chapters 4 and 5). These conceptual distinctions gave me a way for both identifying what affects people on their journeys and how they respond to those interactions. Another advantage of this micropolitical analysis of walking practices is that it permits a sense of how practices are built, day by day, from unique encounters and experiences that may leave marks on people's ways of performing on foot. In Bissell's words: 'Although commuting journeys might appear to be the same, day in, day out, every journey is unique, overlain with the difference that every previous experience makes' (399). It allows us, then, to grasp the ever-changing nature of social practices.

I want to make clear that by distinguishing situations that enable or constrain pedestrian practices, I do not intend to define 'good' or 'bad' experiences of walking in relation to certain places. One walk is many walks at the same time (Kärrholm et al. 2017, 22) and it depends on the environment, on the situations but also on the walker's own possibilities, will, knowledge, etc. Therefore, constraints and enablements are continuously changing within the same walk depending on how different elements come in to play. I am not proposing that people who walk in better conditions will have automatically an enabled pedestrian experience and people who walk in diminished environments will experience only constrictions. Instead, I aim to show the complexity and relational nature of the practice. In that sense, I agree with Jean-François Augoyard's ([1979] 2007, 158) reflection that within the walk '(...) acting and suffering are not distinct instantiated principles, but, rather, that they are lived through a process of articulation, in a rhythmic manner'.

Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind that while walking the body is continually articulating lived experience in an active way.

Finally, I take the concept of 'force fields' from Caroline Gatt (2013) to attend to power relationships within pedestrian situations. It allows me to tackle power in a more concrete way. Her starting point is the relational ontology proposed by anthropology, which she explains considering Ingold's ideas about relations and social life: 'Any "thing" in the world mutually shapes and is shaped by its manifold field of unfolding relationships' (354). Based on that understanding of the world as a field of relationships, she proposes thinking about power in terms of 'force fields' inspired, in turn, by the later works of Michel Foucault.

Gatt works around Foucault's understanding of power as omnipresent which he depicts using the physics term for power which is 'force' (355). However, she differentiates from Foucault who understood those forces to work within matrices. Instead, Gatt proposes thinking in fields. She explains that Foucault 'begin[s] to refer to different social institutions and historical precedents as vectors shaping the self. . . , as well as such forces functioning within matrices' (355). She argues that conceiving vectors within matrices is not useful 'because it assumes a closed system' (356), which may not be the case of peoples' situations in everyday life, as all the relations a person is enmeshed within influence her or him in expected but also unexpected ways (356). She proposes, then, the following understanding of power as fields of forces:

A multi-dimensional understanding of power relations is more useful. In practice, this implies that different qualities of agency, of power, can be taken into account, including instrumental and symbolic power between persons, but also the agency of other actors within those fields of experience. Fields of forces are also more apt than matrices because there is no longer the need for boundaries, since matrix transformations require a view of the discrete matrix (356).

I echo these ideas by considering that everyday life grows configuring force fields in which people, things and other beings' agencies are constantly affecting each other in expected and unexpected ways that may enable or constrains people's 'capacities to act' or to perform their everyday practices. This concept also fits the definition of place I am mobilising here as an encounter of trajectories. Then, in the chapters that follow I intend to make sense of how the conditions of places where people walk participate in configuring these force fields with which walkers deal.

2.6 The Case of Santiago: An Opportunity to Explore How Neoliberal Politics and Policies Affect Everyday Life in the City

The socio-economic inequality that structures spatial segregation and contrasting experiences in the city of Santiago provides an important opportunity to critically explore how everyday practices intersect with broader urban politics and policies. Chile has gone through a process of imposition of neoliberal policies by force during the military dictatorship (1973-1990). It was 'the first experiment with neoliberal state formation' as David Harvey (2005, 7) has described it. He argues that 'increasing social inequality' is 'a persistent feature of neoliberalization' (16). This is observed in Santiago. One of the effects of the neoliberalization process has been the perpetuation of contrasting differences in the living conditions that urban spaces offer to urban inhabitants, which influences the possibilities people have for performing their everyday practices in ways that can respond to their needs and wills. Architect Francisco Vergara Perucich (2018, 24), in his accounting of the effects of neoliberal policies on Santiago, explains how the neoliberal city is 'a network of private spaces in which public space has become a blurry leftover, an unnecessary function of everyday life unless it is transformed into a profitable support of activities'. Considering this, exploring everyday walking which is a practice that embodies that 'blurry leftover' (public space) offers an opportunity to learn more about how neoliberal modes of governance affect life in cities.

In this thesis, I particularly offer a close look at the effects of neoliberal residential policies and urban governance arrangements. In the previous section I depicted Santiago as an unequal city with great levels of urban segregation that follows the striking unequal distribution of economic resources both at the individual level and at the level of local administrations (municipalities). The inequality of the socio-spatial conditions and the form of the city of Santiago is rooted in colonial social dynamics (see section 1.2). However, the current situation of the city is, to a greater extent, a consequence of politics and policies installed in the country four decades ago that, in the words of Camillo Boano and Francisco Vergara Perucich (2018a, 2):

Privilege free markets, reducing the power of the state to its minimum and keeping civil society unorganised. The effects of these changes are visible in the city of Santiago, whose delirium laissez-faire is visible everywhere in all aspect of the urban society.

Together with this, Santiago's governance is carried out at different scales through different institutions that lack the coordination required to produce Santiago in a more articulated and just way. Not having a metropolitan government capable of coordinating the different scales of governance, each local administrative unit (municipalities) is left to do what they can with the financial resources they have (see section 1.2).

I agree with the theoretical perspectives that understand places as a 'coming together of trajectories' (Massey 2005, 141) (see section 2.3). Broader politics and policies are part of those intersecting trajectories and forces that composite places. Following anthropologist Setha Low (2000, 127-128), those forces correspond to the 'social production of space' which 'includes all those factors—social, economic, ideological, and technological—that result, or seek to result, in the physical creation of the material setting'. In this section I focus on the political and economic framework that helps in producing urban space and

the limits of what is possible to do or not for a city and its dwellers. In order to attend to the specificities of the city and being able, that way, to justify what we can learn about the lived experience of urban inequalities in Santiago, it is important to give some more detail about these structural forces. They directly impact the production of current urban inequality, segregation and the way people move through and inhabit places. I concentrate next, then, in giving some details about the neoliberal urban policies implanted by the dictatorship (which were mostly followed by ensuing democratic governments) and the lack of resulting coordinated governance of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (AMS) which highly depends on individual municipal actions and resources.

2.6.1 The Neoliberal Production of the City

i. Housing Policies

Researchers on Chilean housing policies have carefully analysed the impact of the changes introduced after the 1973 military coup (see Richards 1995, Sabatini 2000, Rodríguez and Rodríguez 2009, Salcedo 2010, Boano and Vergara Perucich 2018b). These have been mostly sustained by ensuing democratic governments, from 1990 onwards, with minor variations. Therefore, these policies have shaped in determining ways the form of the Santiago we inhabit today.

Before the dictatorship, between 1929 and 1973, Chile had gone through a process of industrial development, import-substitution and protectionism. This drove more people to move to Santiago attracted by employment opportunities and also prompted the organization of workers who started to claim for basic rights. Architect Patricio Gross (1991, 35) defines the 1938-1964 period as one in which the State ‘assumes an active role seeking social protection and solution to the problems of the country, particularly of the most disadvantaged groups’. In this period, several welfare policies were implemented that

benefitted particularly middle-class groups (Arellano 1988). The range and impact of these policies broadened between 1964 and 1973, a period that economist José Pablo Arellano calls ‘the integration of low-income sectors’ in which the state took a central role as wealth redistributive actor (43). Social policies aimed at reaching the poorest population such as peasants and marginal urban groups, which implied a great increase of the public spending. These policies did not resolve social problems, but they helped to improve everyday conditions of Santiago’s inhabitants (Richards 1995, 519).

Furthermore, sociologist Rodrigo Salcedo (2010) identifies the 1964-1973 as one of ‘reform and revolution’ in which the governments of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei and Socialist Salvador Allende ‘attempted structural changes in Chilean society’ (93). Frei started a vast plan of housing construction that was followed up and enhanced by Allende. The state subsidised developers in building affordable housing and then, the state assigned these units to inhabitants’ organizations who paid back to the state (94). Many of the housing projects were located in central areas, around 40%, which helped social integration and improved the access to social services and urban amenities of the lower-income groups (Navarrete-Hernández and Toro 2019, 8). In this period, popular squatting actions were common too. They were even encouraged by the government who regulated these operations afterward (Salcedo 2010, 94). Urban researchers Pablo Navarrete-Hernández and Fernando Toro (2019, 6) demonstrate how urban policies of the 1952-1973 period led to a ‘developmentalist urban transformation in Santiago characterised by a process of urban equity by distribution (UEbyD)’.

The military dictatorship restructured the role of the state in housing policies. Welfare policies were replaced by neoliberal ones by the hand of a group of young economists who studied under the mentorship of Milton Friedman in Chicago. They were known as the ‘Chicago boys’. While the military regime maintained a concern for the conditions of the

poorer population and developed 'minimal social aid programmes' (Navarrete-Hernández and Toro 2019, 9), it minimised its role from a redistributive one to one limited to just providing the conditions for the private sector and the market to take care of social services such as health, education or housing (Richards 1995, 515). Its social policy, then, followed the form of 'carefully targeted state subsidies' (516).

The lack of housing was still a problem during the military regime. Much of the poorest population were living in shantytowns in deprived conditions, which were aggravated by the economic recession of the early 1980s. While some of the occupied lands were located within low-income areas, other were in high-income ones. The military regime tackled the housing problem either by upgrading with legal titles those who had invaded low-value land or by relocating those who were occupying 'areas required for other uses' in wealthier areas, a process that was known as 'eradication' (Richards 1995, 522). They were moved to the city periphery, to less valued land often in the south-west, 'with poor infrastructure, far from employment possibilities' (523). This was a sort of a cleansing of the low-income population from wealthy *comunas* which reinforced inequality among *comunas* since those already low-income municipalities needed to allocate and assist more people with the same scarce resources they had while land and economic resources were freed for wealthy *comunas*.

Together with this, a new policy of social housing was established that consisted in subsidised basic housing units for 'marginal' groups that were built by private builders contracted by the state and subjected 'to a strict cost ceiling' (524). Salcedo (2010, 94) explains that eligible people needed to save an amount of the cost of the property and 'the remaining value of the house was paid for with a long-term bank loan insured by the state'. He highlights the fact that 'housing was redefined from a "social right" to a commodity that could be individually obtained, eliminating the idea of "collective" struggle for

housing'. A subsidy for buyers from the middle-class was also provided. This policy of subsidies has endured until the present with only a few changes. In the 1990s, democratic governments incremented the number of houses built every year with the goal of ending people living in shantytowns, even at the cost of neglecting the evidence of the marginality, violence and drug trafficking problems these complexes of basic housing were going through. Then in the 2000s, some changes were introduced after reviewing the last decade of housing policies (95). For example, the poorest population could have access to an ownership title after saving an amount of around £270, without needing to pay then a bank loan. In the case of the not-so-poor, they could start organising themselves through a new non-profit institution called Social Development Management Enterprise (EGIS) to prepare their housing projects and 'negotiate building and location conditions with developers' (95).

In general, the numbers may appear to describe the story of a successful housing policy: 'in 2006, after 16 years of left-of-center governments, shantytowns and slums are almost a thing of the past: Only 120.000 people live in shantytowns' (91). However, as Ben Richards (1995, 526) acknowledges: 'Improvements in certain indices, however, do not tell the entire story: the Basic Housing Programme did provide affordable housing for significant sectors of the urban poor, but it also produced severe overcrowding and strengthened segregation in an already profoundly divided city'. What seems evident is that after more than 40 years of emphasising the market deciding where and how to construct social housing a legacy has been left of a highly segregated city, full of unequal contrasts.

ii. Land Liberalization and Homogenization of *Comunas*

The expulsion of shantytowns from wealthier areas was in part possible due to the prior liberalization of the urban limits of Santiago in 1979. This change in the regulations of what was considered as urban land allowed the inclusion of 64.000 ha of land in the peripheries when, originally, the area of the city of Santiago reached only 38.800 ha (Morales et al. 1990, Sabatini 2000). This meant a radical change in the urban growth politics from a controlled one that privileged certain compactness to one that potentiated urban sprawl (Morales et al. 1990, 5). Sociologist Francisco Sabatini (2000, 51-52) indicates that the principles followed responded to the purpose of positioning the market to regulate the limits of the urban area according to supply, demand and profitability. That way, urban areas are seen as growing naturally adjusted to market needs. Yet, after a few years, in 1985, some limitations were reintroduced and then, in 1994, the expansion was limited only to 24.000 ha, that corresponded mostly to the area that was already been built since the 1979 liberalization (56).

Another process that aggravated the socio-economic segregation of Santiago was the municipal reform of the 1980s. Original *comunas* were divided following a criterion of social homogenization 'moving from large and socially heterogeneous municipalities to smaller and homogeneous ones' (Salcedo 2010). The number of *comunas* increased from 17 to 34 under the justification of better channelling resources to help the poorest population. This ended up only aggravating socio-economic inequalities by reinforcing a geography of wealthier and poorer *comunas*: 'This type of segregation between rich and poor—a segregation which was both social and spatial—was symptomatic of Chile's authoritarian modernisation' (Richards 1995, 521). The targeted subsidies for the poorer did not help them towards an improvement of living conditions but just gave them a little help to keep surviving in a neoliberal system that was leaving them without any kind of protection from market forces.

2.6.2 Fragmented Governance: The Effect of Uncoordinated Scales

The AMS lacks a metropolitan government (see section 1.2). Each of the local governments of the city (the ‘municipalities’ that run the minimal territorial administrative unit called *comuna*) operates autonomously under a very rigid law that defines their competences and financing mechanisms (OECD 2017, 132). This makes it difficult to tackle issues of territorial planning that require coordination across levels of governance: the national, regional, inter-municipal and municipal level. It also reinforces the already evident socio-spatial inequalities in Santiago (see section 1.2).

The territorial planning tools used in Chile are ‘regulatory plans’. Each level produces a regulatory plan: The Regional Plan of Urban Development, the Metropolitan Regulatory Plan and the *Comunal* Regulatory Plan. These are highly normative and static tools that lack coordination between diverse public actors, and therefore, they have proven to be highly inefficient (Herrmann 2016, 51). In 2014, the government, through the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU) produced national guidelines for cities in a document called *National Urban Development Policy: Sustainable Cities and Quality of Life* (MINVU 2014). The document highlights that the bigger problem urban settlements face is the socio-economic segregation resulting from the social housing programs of the last decades that focused only on the quantitative aspect of the problem. However, it is unclear to what extent these documents actually impact the way cities are built and managed, especially in the case of Santiago that is exceptionally large and includes a vast number of municipalities compared with other metropolitan areas in Chile such as Valparaíso or Concepción, each of them with a population of around one million compared with the approximately seven million people living in the city of Santiago.

With the municipality in charge of local governance, its actions impact on walking practices most directly. Municipalities are in charge of maintaining public spaces. They

manage garbage collection, streets and open spaces' cleanliness, green areas' maintenance, and safety. Other competences involving greater investment such as paving and construction of public spaces such as parks or communitarian services are in the charge of the MINVU. For example, in the case of street pavement, three organizations are needed for coordination: the municipality in charge of project execution; the Regional Government in charge of funding; and the MINVU through its Urban and Housing Service (SERVIU) in charge of auditing. This creates an intricate bureaucratic process that slows down projects. Currently, the parliament is discussing a law that permits municipalities to execute 'emergency' paving works without the permissions of the SERVIU. However, this does not resolve the need for more coordinated and organised governance at a metropolitan scale. Even while big interventions and constructions in public spaces mainly depend on the MINVU, their maintenance is a municipal responsibility and socio-economic inequalities among municipalities are expressed in their capacities to accomplish this task. Great differences can be noticed among *comunas* in terms of the conditions and amenities of the public spaces for which they are in charge.

The 1980 Constitution defines the municipality as 'a public law corporation, endowed with autonomy, legal personality and its own patrimony, whose purpose is to promote the economic, social and cultural development of the territory, with the participation of the local community' (OECD 2017, 53). Municipalities are responsible too for the execution of central government tasks such as health and education, which transforms them mainly into 'service delivery agents' instead of proper 'local governments' (7).

Municipalities' income is compounded by transferrals from the central government for financing public policies and sectorial programs in areas such as education, primary health services, housing, safety, urbanism, etc. It also includes its own collection from diverse taxes and licenses (Pérez 2016, 122-123). For example, they receive vehicle and garbage

collection taxes, business licenses and building permits. Finally, there is a third way of financing which is the Municipal Common Fund (FCM) aimed at redistributing resources from the wealthier *comunas* to less advantaged ones at a national scale. However, it has not been effective in helping to fill the resources gap among different *comunas* and municipalities' budgets depend on the personal income of their inhabitants together with the range of commercial and real estate activities they attract. It is here where inequalities start to be noticed and, of course, public spaces' maintenance sometimes does not have priority when competing with areas such as health and education, especially in poorer *comunas*. The model has been widely questioned. It is argued that municipalities should be more focused on territorial specificities. They 'have a very broad spectrum of functions that they cannot perform because of significant financial constraints and limitations, or that they perform while increasing their deficits and "hidden debt"' (OECD 2017, 22).

This situation gives rise to individual actions for communities that need to organise themselves to carry out some improvements in the spaces they dwell. These neighbourhood organizations may put pressure on municipalities and apply for public funding to accomplish actions such as repairing sidewalks or potholes and refurbishing housing roofs, to mention a few. While these opportunities may sound positive in the sense that they encourage the participation and organization of urban dwellers, the problem is that when neighbours are not able to organise themselves they do not obtain much from municipalities. This could be seen as an effect of neoliberal policies in which the only way for improving living conditions relies on individual initiatives.

To conclude this section, it is relevant to notice that Chile is often presented as a successful case of development within the Latin American context (see Richards 1997). While the country may shine in terms of indexes of poverty and economic growth statistics, these hardly reflect the level of scarcity and insecurity people need to deal with in their everyday

lives even when many own a house or have an expensive mobile phone. That is one of the reasons ethnographic investigation of the qualities of that development is so important for building a critical perspective of it. This is what this thesis seeks to contribute to by exploring the intersections between everyday walking practices and urban inequality in Santiago.

Conclusion

I have presented in this chapter the key theoretical elements that shape my research. The line I have followed is summarised by the phrase 'everyday walking practices in the unequal city', which exposes the two main elements I am considering in my ethnographic work: making sense of the intersections between everyday walking practices and socio-economic urban inequality. I suggested that in a city such as Santiago this is a condition that configures the qualities of many of the dwellers' everyday experiences. Accordingly, I have highlighted the need for addressing everyday practices, and especially urban walking, paying attention to the differences of the lived experience that conform those practices performed by urban dwellers in conditions of inequality.

I started the chapter by explaining how walking is conceived as a social practice. This is the general frame of reference of my research. I reviewed practice theories' propositions, showing that its framework was not the most suitable for the ethnographical research I present here. Therefore, I turned to consider those conceptualizations of social practices inspired by phenomenological insights that consider a person as a being-in-the-world. This gives a way to think about how embodied subjects participate in the process of social life, which directs attention towards the lived experience of the world and permits us to consider walking as a practice of place-making. This is a more appropriate theoretical basis from which to investigate the relationships between body, movement, and environment, which is my interest here.

Having exposed these theoretical premises, I focused on the relation between the everyday and walking. I drew on the seminal works of de Certeau ([1980] 1984) and Augoyard ([1979] 2007) to highlight understandings of everyday walking practices as sites of creativity for practitioners not without considering arguments warning about the risk of romanticizing everyday walkers. I agree with those authors who challenge framings of everyday practitioners as homogeneous 'heroic' subjects. Consequently, my work contributes to filling this research gap.

I defined, next, how I am facing the challenge of acknowledging differences in everyday walking experiences by exploring urban inequality in a neoliberal context. I showed that one common way of investigating the spatial expression of socio-economic inequality has been to look at spatial segregation. I agree with calls from mobility studies, particularly from Chilean scholars, to explore inequality and exclusion from a mobility perspective. In this way, I contribute to a more detailed understanding of the multidimensional phenomena of urban inequality by focusing on the lived experience of moving on foot under different socio-spatial conditions marked by the neoliberal politics and policies I explained in the last section.

Summing up, I have put into conversation theoretical work on walking, social practices, phenomenology, urban inequality and micropolitics to be able to describe walking practices as a fluid and changing situated practice in which conflicts, differences and power relations operate to produce singular knowledges of the places people inhabit. I have also mentioned how these theoretical ideas inform the empirical chapters of this thesis. Having defined everyday life as the dimension through which I explore the intersections between walking and urban inequality involves a methodological challenge: dealing with the fleetingness of lived experience. I address this in the next chapter.

Methodology: May I Walk with You?

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology strategy I followed to explore everyday walking practices in Santiago. Aiming to learn from research participants' lived experiences of walking I carried out an ethnography which consisted of two gestures: walking with them while audio and video recording their journeys, and reflecting with them about their experiences. I did not restrict my fieldwork to only walk with the participants; I also moved with them by other means to get to know better their everyday mobility practices. I gave reflexivity a special place in articulating my methodological approach: I moved and walked with the participants, as well as I invited them to reflect with me about their own practices and relationships with the city. I did this through sessions I called 'interview-workshop' that mixed interview and elicitation techniques.

The chapter is structured into five sections. First, I consider the challenge of researching everyday practices, joining the discussion that non-representational theory has set in human geography. These scholars call for adopting new methodologies to explore everyday life to which I respond with my methodological approach mobilising ethnography and 'interview-workshops'. Then I summarise how urban walking practices have been researched in order to position my own methodological strategy, highlighting that my ethnographical approach comes to fill a gap in the way urban walking has, so far, been researched. After setting the general context of my research, in the third section I outline my understanding of ethnography and the main methodological decisions that shaped the fieldwork. I explain the criteria I used to decide what kind of walking practices I would consider within my research, to select the areas of the city and to invite people to

participate in my research. I also address methodological reflections raised during the fieldwork about the process of getting in contact with people and choosing the participants. The fourth section details my experience in the fieldwork explaining each of the stages and the research techniques I used. It describes the sites where the ethnography took place and it presents the thirteen participants that made this work possible. In the final section, I conclude by discussing the ethical concerns I needed to face along the way.

3.1 Exploring Practices of Everyday Life: A Non-Representational Task

My work addresses the methodological challenge of investigating everyday practices. The singularities of this kind of research have been tackled in human geography by ‘non-representational’ (Thrift 2008) or ‘more-than-representational’ (Lorimer 2005) theory. Lorimer (2005, 84) suggests that the works that can be considered under this umbrella aim to explore certain kind of phenomena that ‘may seem remarkable only by their apparent insignificance’. This concurs with first feelings about researching everyday walking practices: What could I say about people walking?

Lorimer sustains that the focus of these academic works is directed towards the ‘more excessive and transient aspects of living’ (83). In this way, non-representational theory emerges as a reaction within a context of social constructivism in which the body and cultural aspects were usually researched as ‘endless representations in various media as if it were a text’ (Vannini 2015, 9). It focused on social phenomena that would not generate necessarily ‘a text’ or a coherent ‘discourse’. Therefore, it does not propose a theoretical fight against representation, as the name could suggest. It rather acknowledges the limitations of research techniques based on the analysis of representations to deal with certain subjects, such as everyday life, that exceed representation. Indeed, Nigel Thrift (2008, 112) suggests that it is a style of work instead of a theory:

I have pointed to the uses of an alternative ‘non-representational’ style of work. Note that I use the word ‘style’ deliberately: this is not a new theoretical edifice that is being constructed, but a means of valuing and working with everyday practical activities as they occur. It follows that this style of work is both anti-cognitivist and, by extension, anti-elitist since it is trying to counter the still-prevalent tendency to consider life from the point of view of individual agents who generate action by instead weaving a poetic of the common practices and skills which produce people, selves, and worlds.

It is, therefore, a research style that puts attention on the lived experience of everyday life: the very moment when practices are performed and what is generated through the entanglements of bodies and their environments.

Vannini (2015) explains that some research subjects feature better in non-representational research. Among them he mentions: ‘events’, ‘relations’, ‘doings’, ‘affective resonances’ and ‘backgrounds’. My ethnographic work on walking includes many of these aspects. I explore an everyday practice that creates a relationship between people and the environment, emerging affectivities, sensory engagement with places, bodily expressiveness (rhythm and attention), and so on. In that sense, my research enters into the non-representational’s research universe. Vannini notices that non-representational research comprises the type of subjects of study as well as a methodological looking for innovation and—as is sometimes forgotten—an effort in the style through which we communicate our experiences and findings in the fieldwork.

It is worthwhile to note that non-representational researchers are not against the possibility of representing the world through words. In that sense, I agree with Ingold (2015a, ix) who says that the problem is not necessarily that words cannot transmit certain experiences or cannot help to make sense of certain lived experiences, instead it is the way we use words particularly in the academy—lacking textures and flavours, not corresponding to the liveliness of the practices we research—which limits, even more, our capacities for exploring certain phenomena of social life, or in his own words: ‘To meet the

world with words'. In this thesis, the work of writing about pedestrian experiences as a representational task which will only partially communicate how it is to walk in Santiago. Indeed, I concur with John-David Dewsbury (2003, 1911) when he says: 'The nonrepresentational argument comes into its own in asking us to revisit the performative space of representation in a manner that is more attuned to its fragile constitution'. In other words, non-representational theory invites us to embrace in creative ways the limitations of our investigative tasks.

I do not define my research as non-representational, neither do I define my ethnography as such (see Vannini 2014). However, I draw inspiration from this frame of work to think about my research techniques: How to be present in the moment of the walks and how to use means different from words to grasp senses and perceptions that seem to escape the words of my own research participants who live them? I focused on investigating the experience of walking by deploying ethnography to be able to participate in practitioners' experiences and resorting, as well, to a series of techniques based on audio-visual registers and visual images of walkers' experiences to create a back-and-forth process of reflection through elicitation. In that way, we could reflect and recall what research participants experienced during their walks. Through the use of video-elicitation, montage-elicitation and collages, in what I call the 'interview-workshop', I contribute to the exploration of new ways of investigating everyday practices of movement that emphasise inviting participants to reflect on their own experiences.

It is in the process of writing that my thesis takes more distance from the non-representational project. The way we communicate our learning from fieldwork, is one aspect non-representational theory challenges. My analysis and the way the next empirical chapters develop are oriented towards transmitting walkers' stories and my own story of fieldwork, rather than picturing the ultimate truth about how people walk the unequal

city of Santiago. In that sense, I meet the spirit of ‘nonrepresentational thinking [that] tends toward an academic style which seeks to describe and present rather than diagnose and represent’ (Cadman 2009, 461). I emphasise stories and partial insights. I transmit what I could make sense of from participants’ experiences, instead of analysing participant’s discourses. However, my style of writing is timid in terms of experimenting with more radical ways of making words ‘as lively and mobile as the practices to which they correspond’ (Ingold 2015a, ix). I could not play much with language firstly due to my condition of being a non-native English speaker/writer which limits my use of words; secondly, writing a thesis which intends to prove my suitability to be part of an academic community also restricted my freedom for experimenting with ways of analysing and communicating walkers’ lived experiences. However, I tried to make use of the images I produced during the fieldwork—which prompted many of the reflections of research participants—not only for illustrative purposes, but also as a way of emphasising certain aspects of my arguments.

3.2 Methodological Approaches to Urban Walking

Pedestrian practices have been researched by diverse disciplines using methodologies of a different nature according to the dimensions of the act of walking they want to explore. The more functional approaches that consider ‘walking as a means of solving other problems’ (Kärrholm et al. 2017, 21), such as those of engineering, transport research, health, etc., mobilise predominately quantitative research methodologies. On the other hand, we find approaches in the line of what Lorimer (2011, 19) calls a ‘cultural-interpretative mode’ that apply methodologies focused on generating more holistic understandings of pedestrian practices, generally by means of essays, qualitative methodologies, artistic performances, among others. The latter is the research context of my own investigation. I briefly review, then, how urban walking has been researched from qualitative perspectives during the last two decades in order to set the background and

the value of the ethnographic research methodology through which I learnt about everyday walking in Santiago de Chile.

I address those works that empirically explore urban walking considering the level of participation their methodologies involve. I do not want to suggest a participant strategy is *a priori* better than other options. The adequacy of a methodological strategy responds to the particularity of the diverse research's questions and interests. However, as I show here, urban walking has tended to be empirically studied through interviews, diaries, auto-ethnography, and not so much by creating a relationship with walkers through which the researcher can delve into the everyday lived experiences of others. Thus, more participant research is necessary when the main research concern is the embodied and emplaced everyday experience of walking.

Among those works using a less participant methodological strategy, we find Sonia Lavadinho's (2011) doctoral research in which she investigates the opportunities for walking to play a central role in a multimodal transport system, comparing the cases of Lausanne, Geneva and Bilbao. She mixes quantitative and qualitative methods arguing that different dimensions and representativeness accomplished by each of them are complementary within her research. Even when she engages with participant observation and auto-ethnography, her writing and conclusions are based mainly on analysis of secondary data (urban plans, statistical data, cartography) together with insights of her own observations in each place. The embodied experience of pedestrians from their own point of view does not have relevancy for her outcomes.

Another example is Matos Wunderlich's (2013) research. She carried out intensive fieldwork in Fitzroy Square in London. Part of her work involved observing passers-by's rhythms in order to explore 'how time is expressed and represented in everyday urban

spaces' (384). Through regular observations and video-recordings for a period of a year she visually represented the rhythms of different everyday practices (walking among them). Based on her exhaustive register she produced spectral diagrams to 'represent the rhythmical temporal structure of temporal events at Fitzroy Square' (384). In addition to the video-recordings, she made use of other research techniques such as on-site narratives and interviews. Although these techniques are ethnographically oriented, the main methodological strategy is non-participant.

Finally, another key work is the one developed by Rachel Thomas in Grenoble. She took four places in the city to observe continually how people walked. She describes her methodology as a 'sensory ethnography' of mobile experiences on foot (2004). Even when the observations she presents follow Clifford Geertz's precept of 'thick description', she did not enter into contact with walkers. Of course, to define what can be called 'ethnographic' in the urban context is not a straightforward discussion. Being part of spaces of anonymity and continuous flow may be enough to claim that 'participant observation' is being conducted since the researcher is part of the anonymous flow of the place. This leads us to the sharper discussion about how to define participation in contexts of anonymity. However arguably, I do not consider this methodology as participant in the sense that the voices of those who walk, and through their paces create those places, remain unnoticed. Yet, the conclusions of Thomas' sensory research are highly valuable. She distinguishes different ways of walking based on sensory appreciations such as visual orientation, body gestures, trajectories or co-presence rites, advancing analysis of urban environment interactions and how walking contributes to the life of urban spaces.

I suggest that the limitation of these non-participant observations is related to learning the viewpoint of those who walk: their stories. As in any methodological decision there is something you gain and something you miss. By observing through video-recordings or

from fixed spots for a period of time, it may be possible to gain knowledge about the places and the specificity of walking through them. Another advantage is intervening less in the situations the researcher wants to investigate. On the other hand, walkers' subtler experiences and their relationship with the place, their memories, remain silent. Considering the fact that my work needed to engage with those subtler experiential details and also because I needed to observe how walking is part of people's lives and routines, I chose a participant strategy: an ethnography involving walking with people.

Now I review those works that have included more participant techniques. By using the word 'participation' I mean interacting with people from talking about their practices and/or being with them while they walk. I am considering participation in a broad sense: the intention of the researcher to grasp through interacting with walkers what happens in the very moment of the practice. Therefore, I consider here those works whose methodological core is interacting with people, observing or/and talking.

Augoyard's ([1979] 2007) work is one of the first empirical inquiries into everyday urban walking. His interest is to explore urban everyday life in the relation between people and the space they dwell. His methodology is based on observing and talking. He is convinced that everyday experiences cannot be fully understood by quantitative data or graphic reductionism such as maps. Therefore, he argues for the need to listen to inhabitants' narrations of their daily walks. To accomplish this, he recognises the problem of the immediateness of everyday experiences. As is often depicted, he conceives everyday practices occurring in a kind of unaware or automatic attitude that he characterises as 'forgetful' (19). Thus, how to ask people about their everyday practices? In order to avoid abstractions and generalization in people's answers he interviewed walkers in three different moments. In a first interview the researcher explains to the participant what the research is about and asks the participant to 'recount in a few weeks' the walks she or he

had made from that moment onwards (21). Then one or two more interviews can be arranged in order to talk with people about what they remember of their walks. Doing this he tried to appeal to what he calls 'protentional memory', which he explains as a 'memory of the present' (20). He accedes to it by means of signifying walking experiences as memorable through his initial request.

Another relevant approach is Middleton's (2009, 2010, 2011a, 2016) research in London. She explores matters of pedestrian lived experience such as temporality, arguing and showing that multiple temporalities are enacted while walking the city (2009, 1943). Compared with Augoyard's work, she deepens engagement with individual experiences of walking. She does not only ask people to recount their experiences in a future interview, but to maintain a register of them in a 'photo-diary', a technique based on Zimmerman and Wieder's (1977) 'diary, diary-interview method'. Middleton's (2009, 1944) research relies on 'a mixed-method approach, including a postal survey, experiential walking photo diaries, and in-depth interviews'. She goes further than Augoyard in exploring not only what is memorable through an interview but also what can be registered in more intimate and personal reflections.

Few researchers have conducted ethnographic research on urban walking practices. This is surprising given the relevance walking has had for ethnographers in their fieldwork (Ingold and Vergunst 2008a), and regarding the enthusiasm that the use of walking interviews and walking research techniques have had during the last decade in social sciences (see Kusenbach 2003, Thibaud 2008, Carpiano 2009, Evans and Jones 2011, Myers 2011, Yi'En 2014, Bates and Rhys-Taylor 2017). Ethnography has a tradition in helping understanding social and cultural complexities from first-hand experience of people's particular ways of living and points of view. The body of the researcher becomes part of the emerging multiplicity of what people do and talk about. Within the few

ethnographies that have been carried out on urban walking, I particularly note the one of Lee and Ingold (2006) in Aberdeen, Scotland. While it was focused on the entire region, it looked into people's practices of walking in the town. They carried out an ethnography to explore 'the relationship between walking, embodiment and sociability' deploying a set of diverse methods: 'participant observation, in the form of sharing walks'; observation; auto-ethnography; semi-structured interviews and archival research on history and material culture; some participants wrote walking diaries during one week; photographs and sound recording (68). They explain that not all of them suited all the participants. I think this flexibility in applying different techniques gives freedom to the researcher for adapting to fieldwork possibilities and better suits each situation. I followed more or less the same criterion within my own work, applying research techniques to the extent they accommodated research participants' possibilities as well as researcher safety.

Another example of an ethnography on pedestrian practices is the one Miguel Ángel Aguilar Díaz (2016) undertook in Mexico City. In his case, the research subject is urban walking, specifically about the sociabilities that emerge through walking in public spaces. He used different techniques such as in-depth interviews, go-along interviews, photographic registers, and observations of the places people walked. In total, he did eighteen interviews and go-along interviews. Through them Aguilar Díaz describes how people walk the city and explores people's present and past stories of walking in Mexico City.

These ethnographic examples inspired my own methodological decisions, as I looked for a description of pedestrian experiences considering walkers' stories and reflections. In order to create this research path I also examined recent work from mobilities studies, which explore how to 'be-there' when mobile practices are deployed. My research responds to the call for new methods launched by Urry (2007, 39), who stated: 'Research

methods also need to be “on the move”. How to ‘be-there on the move’ becomes a new concern that guides a diversity of methodological efforts (see Murray 2010, Vannini 2012). Many of the responses are related to ethnographic oriented techniques undertaking participant observation of people’s everyday life with an increasing use of technological resources, especially video recording, something I also included in my ethnography as I show below.

3.3 Deciding to Do Ethnography

My fieldwork started by asking people if I could walk with them or, in the cases they did not walk often or at all, to move around with them during their everyday journeys. Among the different methodologies and techniques I could choose, namely, interviews, observations, mapping, site-writing, diaries, photo-diaries, ‘commented city walks’ (Thibaud 2008, 2013), among others, I decided to walk with people and record our journeys whenever possible. I did it practising an ethnography, which means that I entered into an intensive relationship with them. The reasons for choosing to do ethnography are, in the first place, that it allows first-hand experience of the moment of the performance of the practice and; in second place, it offers rich possibilities for mixing other techniques to contribute to a thick description of people’s experiences; in the third place, and the most important to me, it allows for creating a bond with the people whose realities the researcher is making the effort to learn about. It gives the possibility of establishing a more reciprocal relationship in which the researcher is also being known by research participants.

I understand ethnography as a descriptive practice of ‘the lives of people other than ourselves, with an accuracy and sensitivity honed by detailed observation and prolonged first-hand experience’ (Ingold 2008, 69). Currently work in ethnography avoids engaging with a restrictive definition of it. Ethnography can hold a variety of techniques which

usually consider some form of participant observation (Pink 2009, 8). A common expression often used to illustrate what ethnography consists of is 'being there' (Geertz 1988), which I consider accurately depicts what ethnographic practice involves: 'a reflexive and experiential process through [sic] which understanding, knowing and (academic) knowledge are produced' (Pink 2009, 8). To be there implies not only to observe in situ, but to build a relationship with the participants with the aim of producing knowledge from those interactions, together. Vergunst (2010, 386) emphasises the effect of walking together in creating a commonality: 'Sharing a walk with someone involves a temporal and spatial co-presence in the world, where the otherwise unique, mysterious, body falls into a rhythm with another and creates a common form that becomes familiar to both'. In this way, not only the researcher is there, but also the participants have the opportunity to be there observing their own practices, stressing in that way the possibilities of ethnographic reflexivity.

Certainly, ethnography is not the only methodology through which an active involvement of participants can be fostered. By other means, Alan Latham (2003) explores the possibilities that proposing a shift of awareness to the participants may offer for researching everyday urban experiences; it invites them to become an active part of the research process. In his reflection about a 'diary-photograph, diary-interview method', Latham assesses how useful the metaphor of 'performance' could be to promote this active awareness of people's own daily routine and events.

Traditionally, ethnography has been depicted consisting of long-term fieldwork. The researcher is expected to live in the place where the ethnography takes part. This characteristic has been called into question due to the singularities of new research subjects and situations: 'one can move in and out of the field setting yet still immerse oneself in a particular social world' (Scott-Jones 2010, 6). In my case, the setting of the

research work was dispersed in different areas across the city. Even selecting three determined areas, the places through which my participants walked and moved were spread across the city. What constituted the field of my work, therefore, were the trajectories I travelled with the participants. Starting with a bold 'May I walk with you?' it was my experience of walking with research participants which constituted my research field: a rhythmical field of correspondences.

Still, I pondered over the option of living for a period of time in each of the areas my participants lived; however, due to practical reasons it was complicated to arrange to rent a place every three or four months, and in the case of the high-income area, it was just not affordable. Furthermore, it was not efficient as sometimes I worked with people living in different areas at the same time, which would have proved complicated to manage in travelling times. Also, I would not dare to live in some places, due to safety reasons. Therefore, the location I chose for living was the city centre, at a convenient distance from all of my participants' residence places. In that sense, I was 'in' the city for almost one year, but constantly moving in and out of the actual everyday world of my research participants.

One concern raised by researching everyday walking practices through ethnography is how the researcher might interfere with the actions and experiences she or he wants to learn about. Sarah Pink (2012, 31) highlights that 'a constant dilemma for the scholar of everyday life is the question of how she or he might both live it and study it'. By showing up and 'being-there' the researcher affects the experience and may transform the connotation of everyday acts into exceptional occasions. No doubt the advantage of ethnography is that it allows the researcher to be closer to people, to mingle with them and what they do. To be involved with them implies interfering in their lives: the research situation becomes a shared process of knowledge production (32). In that sense, there is no ambition for objectivity, which does not mean the insights the researcher gets

necessarily lose validity. Validity in ethnography is related to the way the research process is conducted and the coherence of the stories and the reflections of the writing process.

The researcher always affects the course of the events that take place during her or his presence there (Behar 1996, 6). In that sense, it builds upon the oxymoron that you never observe what you intended to observe. That was one of the conditions I assumed when I decided to conduct an ethnography of everyday walking practices. I knew my presence would affect the everydayness of walkers. I realised most people wanted to 'receive' me into their practices and show them to me maybe taking longer paths, going slower, talking more, or even choosing to walk when they would not necessarily walk otherwise that day. However, I think that letting me be their guest on their walks was a rich opportunity in being taught by them about their practices and experiences. However, some solitary practices that do not fit in the practice of walking with somebody else remained less explored, such listening to music or talking and texting on the phone. The question also remains as to what they wanted to show me and what they may have changed because they were aware somebody was observing them. I think this is one of the conditions of ethnographical work, the researcher cannot expect to unveil people's lives against their will. Probably with some of them I gained enough confidence so they let me approach more their everydayness, others probably let me approach this less. In the end, all methodological approaches illuminate determined dimensions which implies obscuring others.

Another consequence of 'being there' is the fact that the knowledge produced by ethnography is created by the researcher as much as by the people who collaborate in the research. This has roused a significant debate in anthropology during the 1980's on representation, reflexivity and authority (see Clifford and Marcus 1986). Sarah Pink (2012, 31) explains that a reflexive approach in anthropology 'attends to the process of knowledge

production, its intersubjectivity and the power relations that are embedded in it'. She shows how it gives a way to explore everyday life overcoming a detached position of the researcher from the everyday she or he is trying to learn about. This approach 'acknowledges the impossibility of objectivity', setting the possibility for a different kind of research practice that participates in everyday life: 'It treats research knowledge as co-produced ways of knowing rather than objective "data" and research as an inevitably collaborative process' and it calls for a process that implies "researching with" rather than simply about people' (32).

Instead of mitigating the impossibility of objectivity, I embraced it getting involved as much as possible within participants' everyday journeys and, also, inviting them to reflect on their own practices. Understanding that observing and being there did not necessarily guarantee I would grasp how people walk, I made use of reflexivity in both ways: my condition of researching walking by walking with research participants, as well as inviting them to reflect on their own practices. I have explained above how, in researching walking and everyday practices, Jean-François Augoyard, Alan Latham and Miguel Aguilar invited their participants to shift their quotidian and normal attention so that they could reflect and report on their practices. Continuing this path, I developed collaborative reflections with participants using a mixture of techniques that, relying on audio-visual resources, tried to explore further the lived experience of walking by eliciting memories, senses and stories.

I could echo in a limited way the call for deploying more collaborative and participative research processes that allow the researcher to 'research with'. While I recognise that the knowledge I present here is co-produced in the sense that it was possible thanks to the participation of the people who agreed to walk with me and in the sense that I carefully tried to bring their voices to my final arguments, I could not redistribute the power I had

as researcher: it was me taking the decisions. I consciously decided to engage in audio-visual and elicitation techniques to prompt a bigger role for my research participants in reflecting with me about the research questions. These techniques gave them some freedom to reflect about my questions, complementing the tighter structure of the interview. However, as Les Back and Shamser Sinha (2018, 174-175) say: “‘Multimedia’ techniques like photo-elicitation can result in a kind of pseudo-participatory form of research’ when it is the researcher who is the one tailoring the main aspects of that process of knowledge production in deciding the topics to explore, the techniques and the form the dialogue with the participants takes. I accept Back and Sinha’s criticism and I think it represents what occurred in much of my own research. I am keen to revisit how to approach this issue in further research.

3.4 Doing Ethnography on Foot in Santiago de Chile

Juan Onofre: ...and walking is a way for relating with each other; for me it is even more intimate than relating without walking.

Me: Yes, there is something in common...

Juan Onofre: Of course, and that commonality makes it intimate.

Me: Sure, for example... if we have had only interviews, probably I would ask you for a couple of interviews to talk about your experience of walking and...

Juan Onofre: And that is it! Because there is nothing more to say. Even if we would have got along very well, there would not be anything left to talk about. However, there was something in common which was walking together.

I undertook an ethnography about walking through walking and recording. Walking with somebody creates a commonality, as can be seen from the conversation above with one of my participants. Lee and Ingold (2006, 67) share this idea about the kind of relation walking may foster, which can help to participate in people’s world during fieldwork: ‘To participate is not to walk into but to walk with—where ‘with’ implies not a face-to-face confrontation, but heading the same way, sharing the same vistas, and perhaps retreating from the same threats behind’. For her part, Sarah Pink (2009, 76-77) highlights that

walking allows us to participate from places in a multi-sensory way. Therefore, the method of walking-with may allow us to understand place-making better, considering that ‘a place walked through is made by the shifting interaction of person and environment’ (Lee and Ingold 2006, 68). Pink summarises these ideas saying that the method of walking-with ‘opens up the possibility of understanding how people constitute both their self-identities and place through their multisensory embodied experience’ (2007, 246-247). All these advantages of doing ethnography on foot helped my aim of wanting to learn about the relationship between walkers and places in Santiago.

While ethnography allowed me to create a sensory path in order to ‘be-there’ when everyday walks were enacted, it could not guarantee by itself that I would grasp fleeting everyday experiences. One of the main difficulties I faced consisted in finding a way to pay attention to the multiplicity of elements and situations taking place and occurring at the same time during the walk: what was happening around us, what was happening to the participant and myself, what we were talking about, silences, sensations, feelings, rhythmic attunements and clashes, the surrounding ambiances, and so on. In Pink’s (2009, 63) words: ‘Participation might be understood as producing multisensorial and emplaced ways of knowing’. Participating in the walks compelled my whole body to engage with the world and the person to whom I was walking in simultaneous different ways. It was a complex situation because the body is situated in different dimensions at the same time. To deal with that multiplicity I resorted to audio-visual tools looking to build a path into everyday walking practices to which I could come back later, as well as inviting research participants to come back too to disentangle those complexities together.

3.4.1 When? What? Who? Where?

I spent ten months, between August 2015 and May 2016, sharing everyday journeys with thirteen people in Santiago. I tried to be there during the four seasons to be aware of the influence of the weather in pedestrian practices. However, due to practical issues, I missed the rainiest months of winter time (June-July). While this can be a bias in my observations, I did not notice that people highlighted seasonal variations of the weather as a crucial aspect of their pedestrian practices. One common commentary I heard was about walking under full sun in summer. It stopped many from walking if they had the option or at least, they coped with it by trying to walk under the trees or on the shaded side of the street when possible. Not having shade in the streets on hot summer days was depicted by many as a bad condition for walking that was more common in lower-income areas. Apart from that appreciation, I did not detect other general experiences in relation to the weather: while some loved cloudy autumn days, others preferred sunny (not so hot) days. A few times some participants talked about the difficulties of walking when heavy rain blocked streets, or the sad memory of walking on cold nights coming back from school. Certainly, the weather is important in walking experiences. However, in this particular research, probably because our conversations were more focused on the inequality of place conditions, it did not have a main role in the stories I heard.

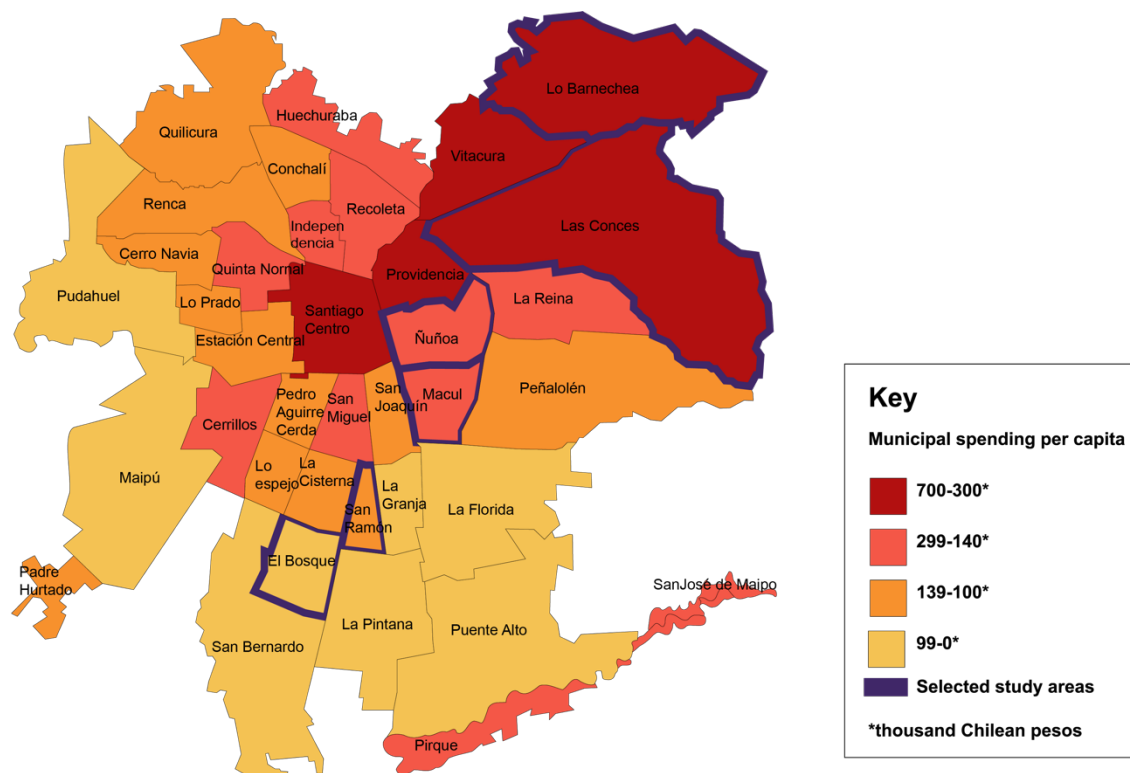
While I moved with my research participants sharing not only journeys by foot, but also by car, bike and public transport, I privileged walking journeys and habitual walks because they helped to build a pedestrian sense of place and the practice itself. Through these regular walks the limitations or potentials of place conditions were experienced in clearer ways creating normalised senses of what you can expect when walking. However—understanding that everyday life is a ‘common ground’ (see section 2.4) where the habitual and the exceptional collapse into each other—I did not dismiss exceptional walks or working with people who did not walk at all in their daily life. Occasional walks or the

absence of walking practices say a lot about how everyday walking is practised in Santiago. After all, the essential character of the act of walking means that every time we move, even when we were not moving by foot, we are somehow deciding if we are walking or not. We are still in a relation with the possibility of walking.

The criteria I used to invite people to collaborate with me were place of residence and gender. I ended up working with seven women and six men, all of them adults between 30-65 years old who lived in different areas of Santiago: in low, middle and high-income neighbourhoods. As I have shown in the introduction, Santiago presents high spatial segregation levels, which means that places of residence are differentiated coinciding more or less with the socio-economic conditions of dwellers. Since I stated that my aim was to observe how place conditions related to socio-economic differences affect everyday walking practices, I invited people living in contrasting parts of the city to compare their experiences and make sense of what is different in their lived experiences.

I did not consider the individual socio-economic conditions of the participants as much as the general socio-economic conditions of the *comuna* in which they lived. Therefore, I did not ask about their income or educational background in inviting them to collaborate in the research. Instead, I picked some *comunas* from two extremes areas of the city and more mixed *comunas* in terms of socio-economic conditions. To define them I considered the amount of public resources they spent per capita and the average income of their population. Even when I did not focus the ethnography on particular neighbourhoods, I tried—as much as I could—to work with people living in close *comunas* or, at least, similar areas. In that way, their experiences could be more comparable as a group with the experiences of the other research participants from other areas.

The map below shows the areas I selected. It shows the municipal spending per capita, which means the amount of money each municipality⁷ has available for each inhabitant of the *comuna*:



Own creation
Base map: Osmar Valdebenito, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=1055857>
Data source: National Municipal Information System (SINIM); retrieved from: Library of the National Congress (BCN), statistical reports 2012

Figure 3.1 Map of Santiago: Municipal spending per capita; selected areas of study.

As the map shows, it can be noticed that there is a wealthier area in the north-east (in red), a middle-income area in the central part of the city (pink) and then a low-income area (orange and yellow) in the west and south periphery. The contrasting *comunas* I chose are Las Condes and Lo Barnechea (high-income) and, at the other extreme, San Ramón and El Bosque (low-income). The central and more mixed area where people of a variegated range of middle incomes live corresponded to *comunas* of Ñuñoa and Macul.

⁷ Local administration of the territorial division called *comuna*.

The data of municipal spending tends to coincide with the distribution of socio-economic groups' income within the city, shown by the following map. These groups are defined considering mainly income levels and educational background: low-income groups in light-blue and blue, then middle income groups in light-orange and yellow and finally, high-income groups in orange. I have located on the map, the names and places of residence of the thirteen participants:⁸

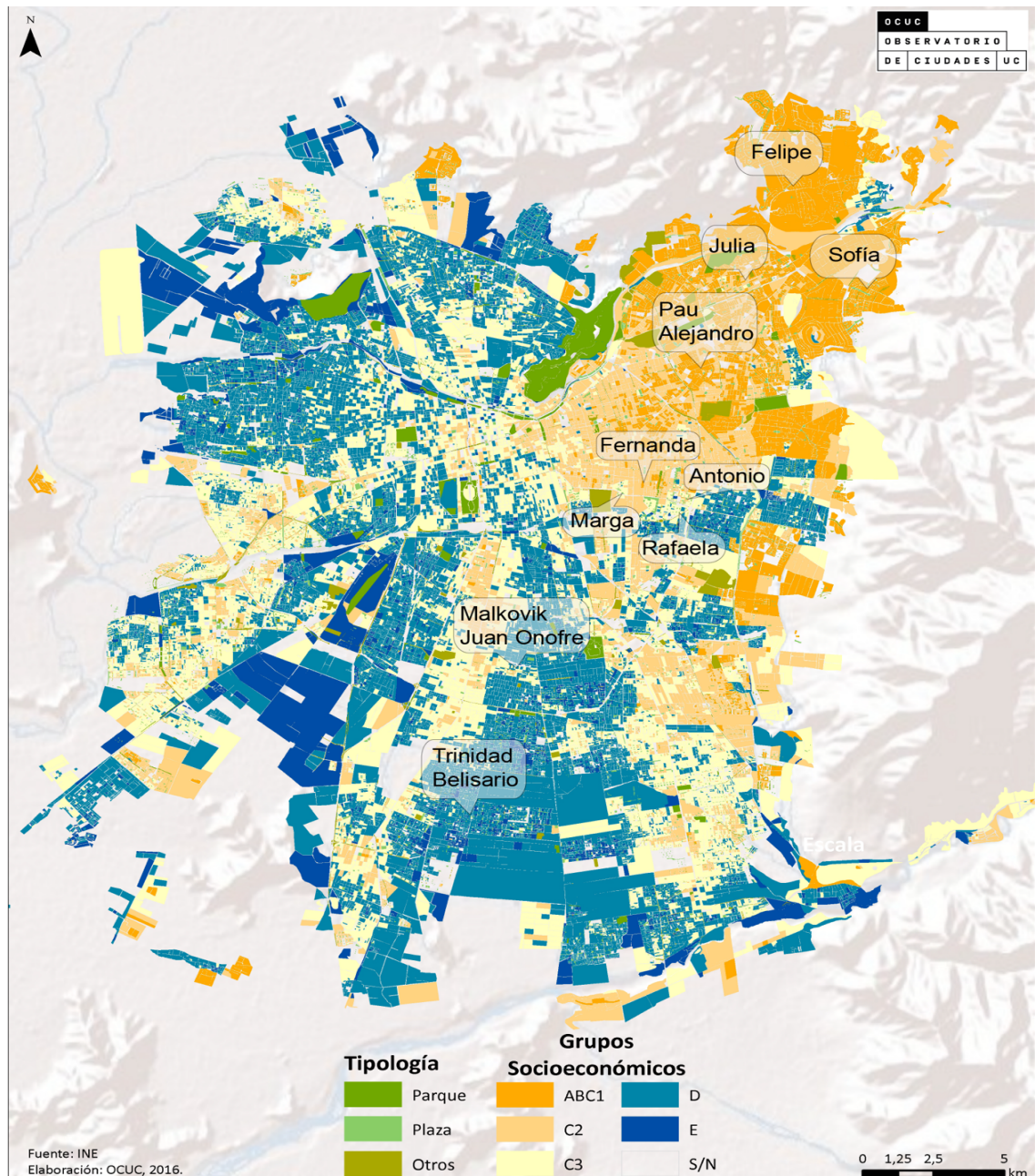


Figure 3.2 Participants' place of residence. Source: Socio-Economic Groups and Green Areas in Santiago's Metropolitan Area Map, created by Cristóbal Herrera using data from 2002 census, Cities Observatory Universidad Católica (OCUC). Retrieved from: <http://ide.ocuc.cl/documents/173>.

⁸ Meeting UCL data protection research policy, I am using the pseudonym each participant chose (see section 3.5.2).

With respect to gender, due to the fundamental role of the body in the practice of walking I maintained a parity between the number of men and women. However, gender issues are a broader and complex subject—for example, I did not explore gender identities. However, even when it was not the main focus of my research, differences between the experiences of women and men appeared very predominantly at some points of the fieldwork which I show in the next chapters. There are many other types of differences that influence walking on which I could not focus. For example, the fact that all my participants were adults between 30-65 years constrained the possibility of paying attention to children's ways of walking in the city or the challenges it presents for older people. Similarly, I did not consider people with reduced bodily mobility. Some of these subjects, however, appeared in our experiences or they were mentioned by participants during our conversations: I walked with a couple of moms and their kids, some participants told me about how their walking experience is changing as they get older, and some of them expressed how glad they were when they saw gay and lesbian couples walking. These comments show the relevancy of differences (whether bodily, identity, class, etc.) for the practice: who you are can determine where and how you can walk and, thus, the experience of the city you will have.

3.4.2 Fieldwork Stages and Research Techniques

I followed the way anthropologists tend to do fieldwork: not defining too much in advance. Thus, I used a general definition and design of the research techniques that allowed me to take general methodological decisions, but I mainly let them develop differently responding to the singularities of the relationship that emerged with each participant. The overall design of the ethnography consisted of two stages: in the first I moved with the participants, sharing their walks and other kind of journeys while recording them. During those journeys I tried not to lead our conversations. I asked many questions but always in

relation to what was happening in the moment or related to some general ideas of walking but not forcing questions to fit within the walk. I rather tried to stay open to what they wanted to talk about. In the second stage, called the 'interview-workshop', I talked and reflected about pedestrian experiences through different research techniques that combined interviewing, elicitation and art works. I now explain in detail the research stages and techniques that built my ethnography: inviting potential participants, walking with them, reflecting with them, inviting some of them to walk other participants' routes and finally, the process of writing.

i. The Invitation: May I walk with You?

Pursuing an ethnography in a big city presents the problem of how to make contact with people. In smaller places, you can just go for a walk and start talking to somebody who may help you contact another person. In Santiago, going for a walk to meet people was the less probable approach. I followed diverse means for contacting potential participants: I emailed neighbourhood associations; I asked among friends if they knew people from certain parts of the city; once, I heard my mum talking about a woman who needed to walk all the way to the hospital to visit her husband and I contacted her; also some people offered themselves after a public talk I gave at a university; finally, after a while, I could ask some participants if they could introduce me to people they thought might be interested in participating, following the well-known 'snow ball' sampling technique. Only once did I just show up in a neighbourhood, in *comuna* El Bosque. One colleague, an anthropologist, had worked before in the area years ago. He offered himself to go with me. He had already lost all of his contacts there, but at least he could mention he had been there before. We just showed up and trusted that somebody would help, and this is what transpired.

When I invited people to participate in the research, I did not ask them to be exceptional walkers. Instead, I wanted to observe the role walking played in their everyday lives. Therefore, I worked with some people that walked a lot and others that walked less. One of them did not walk outside at all, which is not an uncommon situation for those living in high-income areas of the city who depend on the car for their everyday mobility. I asked research participants if I could move with them on their everyday journeys, privileging participating in their trajectories on foot. I tried to be with them in every mode of moving they practised at least once: I was on buses, metro trains, cars and bikes, which allowed me to reflect with them about the specificities of moving by foot.

All the participants I worked with were approached by me except one, he was one of those who offered themselves to participate in the research after the public talk I gave. He was an enthusiastic walker. This put me in a dilemma: was his experience representative enough of everyday walking in Santiago? He walked long distances on a regular basis, probably more than any person I had ever known in Santiago. He lived in a low-income area but he was well-educated: he studied journalism and he was pursuing a Master degree. His educational background was not common in people from low-income areas. After considering for a while and talking about this issue with colleagues, I decided to work with him. In the first place, this ethnography is aimed at making sense of the experience of walking in different places in Santiago, and he had a very rich experience of walking in neighbourhoods of different socio-economic conditions. In the second place, representativeness is not the criterion that guides my research as I am working only with thirteen participants trying to make sense of how people walk in a city of nearly six million people. As Peter Jackson (2016, 34) explains, validity instead of representativeness is the appropriate criterion to assess ethnographic work. The validity of a study 'concerns the *logical* relationship between characteristics rather than their representativeness or typicality'. Therefore, the intensity and frequency of the experiences this person had

helped challenge some of the common sense about when and how it is 'normal' to move by foot in Santiago. His interest in the research also allowed me to discuss methodological issues, with him giving me feedback on how to improve some of the research techniques I applied.

This situation reassured me in that I was not looking for representing the 'typical' walker but for learning about possible experiences of walking in the city. Facing this dilemma at the beginning of the fieldwork taught me to be aware of my own imaginations as a researcher about who would be the 'ideal research participant' and the bias those imaginations could bring to my learning process about how people walk. Later I would understand that many of my research participants were enthusiastic and exceptional walkers as well. The distances they covered may not be that extreme, but the singularity and creativity through which they lived their experiences led me to question ideas about everyday walking as a less attentive practice, as I show empirically through the next chapters.

The next chart presents the people who kindly decided to collaborate in this research. I use the pseudonyms they picked (following the data protection guidance of the academic institution in which I am based) and add a few references I consider relevant in following the narrative of the next chapters.

Area income	Name	Sex	Age	Season of the walks	Description
Low	Juan Onofre	M	40	Spring	He defines himself as middle class. Well-educated and free-lance worker. He lives in his own house with his family: his partner and two kids. In his neighbourhood diverse people live, of low and middle-income. They own a car but he normally moves by public transport and walking. He walks long distances all over the city. He tries to walk whenever he can.
	Antonio	M	36	Summer	He does not define himself in any socio-economic group; he just says that they (his family) live 'at the edge' (of poverty). He finished school and works in a factory in the same neighbourhood. He lives in a social housing complex with his family: his partner -Trinidad- and two kids. The neighbourhood presents problems of criminality and drug trafficking. He moves mainly by walking short distances within his neighbourhood. Only occasionally he goes to another part of the city with the family at the weekends.
	Trinidad	F	41	Spring	She defines her family to be middle class because they never lack food at their home. She finished school and she works informally from home, sewing for a factory. Occasionally, she works cleaning houses and selling beauty products. Trinidad lives in social housing complex with her family: her partner -Antonio- and two kids. She moves mainly by public transport and walking. She does not go out from the neighbourhood often, just a couple of times in the week or less. Therefore, she normally walks short journeys around her home.
	Malkovik	M	56	Autumn	He defines himself as working middle class. He did technical studies in construction and he works in an architecture practice. He lives with his family: his wife, three young daughters, one young son and his mother. In his neighbourhood diverse people live, of low and middle-income (same as Juan Onofre). He commutes by public transport to a high-income area where he works. Occasionally he walks around the neighbourhood at the weekends.
Middle	Fernanda	F	40	Winter and spring	She defines herself as middle class. She is well-educated in computer engineering and works at the university. At the moment of the research, she was living in two places: in her mother's house those days she was with her two kids (shared custody) and in her partner's home those days the kids were with their father. Both places were very close in the same <i>comuna</i> and they correspond to middle and affluent middle-income area. She commutes by car, but in the afternoon and weekends she tries to move also by walking, bike or public transport. She moves through different <i>comunas</i> within the city mostly in the east area and central areas.

	Mara	F	61	Spring	She defines herself as low middle class because if she does not work, she does not eat. She is well-educated in educational psychology and works in an institute. She lives on her own in a former social housing complex from the 1960's (where her parents lived). She lives in a mixed area where middle (lower and higher) income population dwell. She commutes and move to different areas of the city by public transport. She normally strolls at the weekends.
	Rafaela	F	55	Spring and summer	She defines herself living in a low-income situation, especially as she has recently widowed. However, she feels part of a working middle class. She studied pre-schooler teaching but she stopped working a decade ago and she is dedicated to home duties. She lives with her daughter (young adult). They live in a former social housing apartment she owns. The neighbourhood is a mixed area of low and middle-income population. She lives in the limit between two <i>comunas</i> one with more resources than the other, so she can notice the difference in the maintenance and facilities of public spaces. She moves by public transport and she tries to walk a lot. Normally she moves around her area and towards the city centre.
	Antonio	M	33	Summer	He does not know how to define himself in terms of income and class. He has low income, as he lives from a scholarship and he has a young son to maintain. However, he is well-educated and his world, friends and family, correspond to affluent middle class. He works at the university doing a PhD in forest engineering. He lives in his parents' house, but was looking to rent a house with a friend. The neighbourhood is a middle-class area where he grew up. He commutes exclusively by bike and when he cannot cycle, he takes public transport, longboard or walks. He moves mainly through his neighbourhood and central areas.
High	Pau	F	51	Summer	She says she cannot deny she is part of the wealthy class. She is well-educated and works as manager of her company of quantitative studies. She lives in a high-income area, a zone with high standing buildings of apartments and big houses. It is an area that is well connected with the city as it is not that far from the city centre. She commutes by car mainly. She moves around different places of the city as she also works teaching at the university that is towards the south. She tries to commute to the office by bike whenever she can. She walks around her office at lunchtime and to a few other places nearby.
	Julia	F	58	Summer and autumn	She cannot define herself as part of a class. She grew up in a low-income area where she met her husband that could have a good education and now they live in a wealthy situation. She finished school and she is housewife. She lives with her husband and his younger son. However, the other two sons had recently moved back from abroad (Europe) and they were living in the house for a while. She commutes almost exclusively by car. In the last years she only remember walking when she travels abroad. She moves mainly through the high-income area except those days she goes to visit her mum in a middle-income area.

	Sofía	F	47	Summer and autumn	She defines herself as in the middle, as there are wealthier and poorer people than her. She did technical studies in software programming but she never worked on that. She got married young and she has been dedicated to home duties since then. She has lived in different cities due to his husband's work. She lives with her husband, two young daughters and a young son. They live in a wealthy neighbourhood of big houses up towards the mountain. She moves mainly by car. She normally drives her family members around, goes to the gym and she is in charge of weekly shopping. She moves mostly around that high-income area. However, once every two weeks she drives to the city centre to buy fruits and vegetables in the central market of the city.
	Felipe	M	40	Autumn	He could not define himself as middle-class, he says, so he considers he is high-income or affluent class. He is well-educated and works as architect both for a local government and as free-lancer. He lives with his wife in a high-end apartment in an exclusive high-income neighbourhood located almost in the mountain, at the edge of Santiago towards the north-east. The neighbourhood is surrounded by huge houses. He commutes and moves through the city mainly by car. He normally moves through different <i>comunas</i> in the high-income area. Sometimes he needs to go to the city centre and he takes advantage to walk a little bit there. He normally walks around his neighbourhood with his dog and with his wife on the weekends going to restaurants or buying groceries.
	Alejandro	M	40	Autumn	His income is high but he went through a difficult situation and he was living on a budget; he needed to sell his car and share the apartment with his sister. So he could not identify himself as high or middle class. He works in a company selling cars. He lives in a small apartment in a wealthy area not so far from the city centre, so it is well connected and there is a lot of commerce, services and movement on the streets. He commutes by public transport to the north-area of the city, to a commercial mall dedicated to sell cars located at the outskirts of the city. Many times colleagues give him a ride on his journey back home. He walks often as well, sometimes he prefers to walk long distances, longer than 30 minutes instead of taking a bus. Normally he moves through the high-income area; he also likes to walk in the centre in the weekends when there are not many people around.

Figure 3.3 Research participants' presentation.

ii. Walking the Walk with Video

The goal of this first stage was to accompany participants. The basic research practice was moving around with them on their different everyday trajectories, privileging those by foot. We agreed on a departure point, inside the place they were about to leave when possible, so that I could be with them from the very beginning of their journeys and observe how they prepared themselves to go out. I accompanied them normally until they reached their destination, that implied travelling on buses, on the metro or by car on many occasions. Some journeys were almost exclusively on other means of transport and walking was an almost insubstantial stretch. Except for a few cases when I ran out of battery because I underestimated the time we would walk, I was always video-recording using a little camera attached to my body with a harness. I also carried with me a high-quality sound recorder, which was key to register those occasions I could not video-record or in conditions of sound saturation such as high traffic avenues. Just in one case I could not walk with the participant (Belisario). I gave him a video-camera so he could record his journeys. I took this decision due to safety reasons related to the time of his journeys. In total I accompanied each participant for about four to six journeys. They lasted about ten or fifteen minutes for the shortest, and more than two hours for the longest. In total, I recorded more than fifty everyday journeys.

One preceding method that inspired me was Sarah Pink's 'walking with video' (2007, 2009). She describes how she uses the camera in an intuitive way that responds to the constant changes and flux of the fieldwork. Pink (2007, 250) describes that her 'approach is to use the camera when I think I will be able to learn more or learn differently about the particular questions that I am interested in'. She uses the act of switching the camera on when she feels it may facilitate participants 'to define and represent their own embodied experiences and knowledge' with the aim to potentiate 'collaborative explorations'. The

camera becomes an element that allows participants to shift their attention towards their own practices, helping them to reflect about and represent them.

My own use of video-recording differs from Pink's. I did not give a special role to the camera within the performance of the fieldwork. I did not try to build a participants' narrative through the recorded images. Of course, the position where I put the camera, the registered images and conversations or the fact that sometimes I needed to hide the camera during the journey (due to safety reasons), produces a narrative by default. However, I did not ask research participants to actively include the camera in their journeys or explain or show their engagement with the world to it. Furthermore, my choice was to try to make the camera as invisible as possible. The reason was the fact that we would be walking in everyday situations: sometimes maybe worried about time, talking to and taking care of kids, in crowded spaces coping with the hectic rhythm of city centre, etc. I wanted to sense those situations fully and I considered that being aware of the camera would distract me from the everyday flows I wanted to be part of. In other words, I did not want my presence mediated by the camera. Moreover, giving a more active role to it would have implied putting research participants in front of an imagined audience; therefore, I preferred to keep it in a less noticeable position attached to my body with the harness, so my hands were free to gesticulate when talking and even more, from time to time I could forget I had it.

Nevertheless, there is a point of coincidence between my use of walking with video and Pink's use: encouraging a collaborative research process. She explains how video 'can serve as a catalyst for creating ethnographic understandings of other people's experiences' (2007, 243). She suggests that recordings can serve as a sensorial text that helps the researcher in the analysis processes:

This can be understood likewise as a route back into the embodied knowing that was part of that research experience. I suggest that using video in this way can offer ethnographers ways to reconnect with those non-verbalised ways of experiencing and knowing that form an integral part of the research encounter, and use these as part of the analysis (2009, 124).

In my case, I invited research participants to become part of this analysis process, reviewing the videos and the images with them in a second stage of my ethnography that I called the ‘interview workshop’.

iii. Walking the Walk Again: Interview-workshop



Figure 3.4 Interview-workshop: Participant crafting his collage. Source: Author.

After walking with the participants and recording their journeys I invited them to participate in a reflective stage. Its aim was to explore together their mobility practices, particularly, their pedestrian experiences. The reason for setting this reflective moment

comes from the pilot research I carried out in Santiago in 2014. On those occasions, I prepared some questions to provoke people to explain what they were experiencing while we were walking together. Those walks taught me that asking people to talk about walking while doing it, quickly reaches a limit: people get distracted easily (me too). Furthermore, I felt I was losing the opportunity of participating in the kind of conversations people may hold while walking (especially when they walk with others).

The interview-workshop was a reflective situation in which I invited research participants to engage with different research techniques of interviewing and elicitation based on the audio-visual material recorded during the walks. I sustained between three to five sessions of interview-workshops with each participant, which means that I carried out more than forty interview-workshops in total. For each session I prepared a different activity: video-elicitation; montage-elicitation and collages. In this 'after walk' moment I proposed participants engage in the dynamic of a workshop. I mixed these activities with open-ended interviews. This way, I did not rely exclusively on the question-answer structure of interviews, since sometimes people wanted to tell me things about their walks but they did not know how to explain themselves or they just did not remember. Moreover, the sense we had of doing something together, particularly in those sessions when they crafted the collages, fostered a more relaxed ambience for talking: for them but also for me, as I could take a rest from the position of continuously leading and directing the situation. In terms of the subjects we addressed during the sessions, I worked on an open list of questions about participants' personal history of walking, everyday mobility, their ideas about inequality, routines in which walking participated, and the affectivities and sensorial impressions they experienced in their walks (see Appendix 1).

These activities helped me in evoking senses, memories and reflections as they visually and auditory took participants back to the walk in a more vivid way than questions. While

I emphasised participants' reflection on their sensory engagement with places. However, some senses were less present in their appreciations. This is the case, for example, for smelling. Sometimes I explicitly commented on smells either while walking or reviewing the videos, yet without much response. I wonder to what extent the fact of walking with somebody else may redirect walkers' focus, thus privileging some senses over others. Or maybe researching more ephemeral sensations requires a different methodological approach. In this case, having based the reflections about pedestrian practices in activities using audio-visual material may have limited the evocation of these senses as such.

In order to recall more vibrant memories that could trigger appreciations and insights about the experiences we shared, I proposed video-elicitation and montage-elicitation. Both are inspired by a photo-elicitation research technique which consists, as Douglas Harper (2002, 13) suggests, of 'the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview'. Harper bases this technique on the fact that 'the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information'. Therefore, it evokes a kind of information words cannot express.

To warm up the process of reflection I started interview-workshops by asking about general aspects around walking and then I continued by proposing video-elicitation as a means to recall the experiences of the walk. I edited short video-clips summarising each walk, including key moments I found interesting, to review together with the participants. In order to keep participants' attention, each video-clip was not longer than 10 minutes. We watched the video and we commented on them. This activity took generally one or two sessions depending on how many videos we needed to go through.

Once we had accomplished the video-elicitation activity, I proceeded with montage-elicitation. For this technique I drew inspiration from the representations of walking Luis

Iturra (2012, 2018) makes, as part of an auto-ethnography, in which he uses images formed by video-stills of the recordings of his steps and floor textures along his journeys. In a similar way, I use the montage of video-stills. My purpose was to give research participants the opportunity to grasp their journeys in one glance. I created, thus, a montage for each walking journey (also for some bike and car journeys) using video-stills I took from the footage. I took one still each five seconds and I assembled them together creating an image I then printed out on a big sheet of paper of 90x90 cm more or less.⁹ I asked participants to distinguish on the montage whatever caught their attention and attach a little plastic flag written with a couple of words; then, I invited them to explain these to me.

These two elicitation techniques allowed me to grasp significant insights, particularly about the materials or situations we encountered on route that we could not have remembered otherwise. In the case of the videos, what sometimes helped prompt conversations on certain aspects, was the lack of coincidence between participants' memories and what they watched on the screen. For example, Antonio came to talk about the fact that he distinguishes singular ambiances on the streets acknowledging the sensorial differences between the lived experience and the video-recording:

On the video-recording I perceive the streets as sadder. But when I walk them, and I do not know if this is a product of my imagination, I feel them to be alive, sharp, as if they vibrate. In the video it is different, not because it was badly recorded but simply because they seem distant. They appear like different streets to me. Because I think streets have a charm, a personality.

This type of reflection would hardly take place within the same walk or during an interview as he is responding to something that is happening within the session: the perceptive experience of watching and playing with images.

⁹ To see examples of the montages, please go to 'Montages Examples' in: <https://thesisappendices.wordpress.com/>

In the case of montage-elicitation the effect was different as I presented the participants with an image they needed to figure out and learn how to read. Then, they needed to put that visual representation of their experiences in dialogue with their memories and impressions. Building a montage with video-stills I turned my participants' experiences into a sequence of discrete images. These lines made of images helped to draw senses or impressions especially about colours and the presence or absence of vegetation that would have been hardly accounted for had they started from a question devised by the researcher.

For example, one of the participants highlighted how this technique allowed him to point at the colours that he feels are the colours of his routes. These he defines to be the colours of walking in low-income areas in Santiago:

Well, I think it is nice for you [researcher], because you appropriated the colours and forms that the eyes of other people see in their everydayness. Then, this is the scene... I mean, if we had a video-camera in our heads and we could reproduce what we see, it would be something like this. And it is very much like this. This one [he points at one of the still-montages] is very much like my neighbourhood, even when my neighbourhood is a little bit further, but it is not so different. It is clearly the south of Santiago . . . These are the colours of my walks.



Figure 3.5 Still-montage: The colours of Juan Onofre's journeys.

Due to the small size of the image frames, even when I printed them out in the biggest size possible, it was difficult for participants to recognise where they were frame by frame. However, many of them took up the challenge of recognising the places based mainly on forms and colours. It seemed to me very much like learning to read a story told by colours and shapes. Some of them did not know what to say about these montages at the beginning, which was totally the opposite effect to what I was looking for: to elicit. Some just liked the images and from that sensation we started to talk about the montage, how I did it and, finally, about the sensorial and material aspects of their pedestrian experiences. The quantity of reflections I had from this technique may be small. However, the meaning of some of the comments were deeply insightful. For example, Pau commented she did not notice before how much green there was on her route. It helped her to appreciate material contrasts through the sequences of the colours. She was also amazed by the fact that the sheet of paper she was holding summarised half hour of her life. The most difficult aspect of the technique was that people very soon got tired of 'reading' that quantity of tiny images, especially those participants who had long journeys on foot. Sometimes I split the activity between two sessions to avoid overwhelming participants.

Finally, after some sessions recalling their journeys through videos and montages, I invited research participants to a more directly engaging activity. I proposed them to create two collages using a pool of printed stills I had previously selected from the video footage of participants' walks. Art based techniques have been increasingly used in qualitative research. Lynn Butler-Kisber (2008) summarises the use of collages as a technique for memo writing and conceptualization, both helping researchers in the process of the inquiry. She describes how collages can be also used as a form of elicitation, which is the way I used it with my research participants. However, instead of using it to guide the

conversation, as Butler-Kisber proposes, my purpose was rather different: to open the conversation to appreciations I could not have foreseen.

I asked them to craft collages to prompt their impressions about their walking experiences and, particularly, about the city. I asked them to create one collage with those things they liked about their pedestrian experiences, and another one that showed the things they disliked. This activity implied engaging in a comparative task, therefore it allowed me better to explore affective and emotional aspects of pedestrian practices as they needed to choose and justify why they picked each of the elements they liked or not. Moreover, the acts of trimming and gluing and the time that these took, gave them a chance to focus and to comment in a more extended way about the images.

The activity developed differently with each participant. With some of them I could talk more while they were doing the collages; with others, they focused on the task and I did not feel I could stop their flow with many questions. However, in general they enjoyed trimming and gluing. I noticed those gestures created a different atmosphere since the goal was not answering my questions but doing something with their hands and creating an image. It felt relaxed, most of them seemed to comment on things more freely. At the end, I asked them to explain their collages which was an insightful exercise of comparison between pleasant and not so pleasant elements of their pedestrian practices which led them to reflect about their relationship with the city.¹⁰ Making collages was one way we could reflect on the sensorial and affective aspects of participants' journeys. Moreover, it was a way they could participate in the writing process of my dissertation, since their gestures of cutting and pasting are formative in some of the arguments I expose in the following chapters, such as centring my analysis of the materials of walking on greenery and garbage in chapter 4.

¹⁰ To see in detail the collages, please go to 'Collages' in: <https://thesisappendices.wordpress.com/>

Lastly, I want to note that preparing the interview-workshops was time consuming: editing the videos, producing the montages, selecting images from video-footage and printing out were some of the preceding tasks. However, it was a useful time. Reviewing the videos once and again, together with the action of selecting images, helped me to start analysing the experiences in an informal and intuitive way, which led me to keep reshaping my research questions and making sense of crucial elements I needed to cover when reflecting with the participants about their walks.

iv. The Body as Comparative Tool: Swapping Walks

I practised this technique only with a few participants, those I thought would be likely to accept the proposition. Once we completed the interview-workshop sessions, I invited them to walk another participant's journey on foot through a different area of the city. Having built a reflection about their own walks through the activities of the interview-workshops, I wanted to invite them to compare their pedestrian experiences with others'. I did not ask them to meet each other, I simply guided the participant through the journey I had learnt from another participant. I decided to only voice record these experiences and while walking I was asking questions that prompted comparisons of the places and the practices. These experiences gave me the opportunity to understand how people walk differently in different areas. I used this technique with three participants: Juan Onofre, Trinidad and Rafaela. With Juan Onofre and Rafaela we could do it twice, once in a lower-income and the other time in a wealthier area than theirs. With Trinidad, due to her time limitations and because she lived in the southern periphery, I could just ask her once to accompany me to the middle-income area. With the same aim of prompting a comparative reflection about walking, I also asked some of the other participants (those who had more time availability) to watch the edited recording of another participant's walk and we

commented on what they felt was different or similar to their experiences.¹¹ These comparative reflections fostered many of the ideas about how inequality expresses itself in rhythm and attention, which I develop in chapter 6.

v. The Process of Analysing and Writing

Ethnography normally emphasises fieldwork and participant observation. However, ethnography is also the writing process through which the researcher crafts the stories learnt through living and sharing everyday life with other people. It was in the process of writing that a great part of the arguments that sustain my thesis took place. When I returned from fieldwork, I mainly brought field notes and questions in my head. I still could not tell a story that could make sense of what I experienced in Santiago. It was only when I re-read previous works on walking, together with carefully watching, listening and transcribing conversations and videos, that I started making sense of my research questions and crafting arguments out of the intuitive knowledge I had gathered during the fieldwork. The analytical work post-fieldwork consisted in consciously transcribing the video recordings of the walk and the interview-workshops sessions. In parallel I kept a document with the observations and memories triggered by the listening and viewing of fieldwork registers.

Once I had the transcriptions, I ran word searches through them. I examined how often people talked, and in which ways, about certain senses, materials of places, body attire, etc. I chose those words based on the parallel document in which I was noting down those I perceived as cross-cutting themes. Also I searched key words such as like, dislike, comfortability, suffering, annoying, etc. The aim was to navigate the transcriptions, triangulating the impressions I had during the fieldwork with the material I gathered. I contacted some participants again many times, either through mail or social networks to

¹¹ I made sure they were not talking about any private issue and to maintain their anonymity.

ask them if they agreed or not with what I was thinking and starting to write, during this careful and time demanding process of analysis.

To explore the materials of places in particular, I used what I call 'descriptive lines' (see Appendix 2). These consisted of making lists by naming what I could see and hear from the video recording, and also what events marked the journey such as: saying hello to somebody, getting worried about something or finding someone or something unexpected. I reviewed each video recording at least three times with this purpose. First, I focused on the materials I could see (trees, grass, pavement, light, cars, etc.); then on what I could hear (traffic, birds, people talking, etc.); thirdly, I concentrated in distinguishing the journey's events (bumping into a friend, stopping to buy something, being addressed by a stranger, etc.). I used the software programme Nvivo to analyse the frequencies of the words in the lists. I did not follow those tables of frequencies as if they were fully representative of the experiences. Instead, I used them as guidelines which helped me to order ideas and distinguish key themes to explore them better by coming back to the videos and field notes.

Summing up, analysing and writing was an entangled back-and-forth process of exploring field notes, recordings, collages and still-montages in different ways by transcribing, coding and visualising, and many times by diagramming and drawing. It also included contacting research participants again overcoming the geographical distance. All of that sustained my writing which was the space in which I finished shaping the main arguments of the thesis. While the use of audio-visual tools was key in the fieldwork process, I did not find a way to give audio-visual material a more fundamental role in this document. That is a challenge to address in the publications that may follow this work. However, I include images throughout the document whenever it is crucial to communicate my arguments and the blog can also be reviewed for a visual and auditory impression of

fieldwork.¹² Considering all of these intricacies, I agree with James Clifford when he says that ‘the making of ethnography is artisanal, tied to the worldly work of writing’ (Clifford 1986, 6). The story I tell about walking in Santiago has been shaped by the way this ethnography has been pursued in the fieldwork and also in front of my laptop in London, far away from Santiago and with the aim of fulfilling a thesis standard. All of that makes me recognise that the ‘ethnographic truths’ I present here ‘are thus inherently *partial*—committed and incomplete’ (Clifford 1986, 7). However, I offer them to the academic community as a reflection that has been crafted bringing together the voices of my participants and my intensive experience of sharing a short stretch of their lives.

3.5 Ethical Remarks

3.5.1 Positionality

I am a woman in my thirties researching the city where I grew up, which I had left to live abroad eight years previously to the starting of this research. I returned every year to Chile, and to Santiago, so I was partially aware of how much the city had changed. This conditioned my work in numerous ways. In the first place, I had memories of a city that did not exist anymore. I tried to use that in my favour, attempting to focus on what seemed strange to me. However, because it was somehow ‘my’ city, sometimes it was difficult to realise that some memories I held no longer corresponded with present time. This was especially challenging since the middle-income area I chose to study was the area of the city in which I grew up and, probably, in which I learnt how to walk in the city.

In the second place, as a woman interacting in public spaces, I needed to be aware of street harassment and also to consider carefully occasions in which I needed to walk with male

¹² <https://thesisappendices.wordpress.com/>

participants. I addressed this issue by always working with men I was introduced to by somebody I could trust. I also needed to face the fact that I was afraid of walking in certain places and situations. I needed to decide in which opportunities I would challenge myself to overcome my feeling of apprehension and on what occasions I would just follow my intuition of not going to certain places, even when that meant losing significant experiences.

Thirdly, I am a middle-class well-educated person. My appearance, way of dressing and behaving in public spaces may cause some suspicions especially in low-income areas of the city. In fact, one of my male participants living in a low-income area commented that he felt more observed when he walked with me. He could not figure out if the reason was the fact I am a woman, my way of dressing or the fact I was carrying a little camera. Probably it was the combination of everything. In any case, I always tried to dress as neutral as I could to avoid standing out. Moreover, as an educated woman that grew up in between low-middle and high-middle income groups, I needed to be aware of my uneasy feelings towards more affluent areas of the city: I needed to be aware of my prejudices of wealthier lifestyles.

3.5.2 Consent and Anonymity

Regarding people's decision to get involved, I explained to each of them the aims of the research. All of them agreed to participate and signed an informed consent form that was approved by the UCL Data Protection and Ethics Committee. It was very interesting, though, that they were not concerned as much as me with their own anonymity. Many of them said I could use their names to write about them and some of them found the fact that I was committed to treat them anonymously, simply awkward. In trying to overcome that sense of awkwardness I asked them to choose their own pseudonym: each pseudonym corresponds to each participant's choice.

3.5.3 Retribution

What could I offer back to participants? This was one of my main ethical concerns, and probably still an unsolved one. It was my initial desire to give research participants something back and to build a more horizontal relationship with them in which we both could gain. However, that was not their concern: the majority were just generously helping me. I felt there was not much I could give them back except being honest in my relationship with them, and helping them in whatever way I could. The option of sharing my work with them is difficult due to the language difference. Translating this work into Spanish is a task I am not currently able to accomplish. I finally decided that the best way of returning something is giving them the transcriptions of our conversations and the videos, in case they want them. That is a pending issue I need to resolve next time I go back to Chile, as I have not returned there since I finished the fieldwork.

3.5.4 Writing and Representation

Ever since the publication of *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus 1986) it has been acknowledged that doing ethnography implies a writing exercise in which the researcher exerts the power of representing others. Anthropology has dealt with this dilemma by experimenting with the process of writing: transiting from an authoritative objective voice towards more polyphonic, dialogical styles or co-written strategies (Clifford 1986). In my case I did not challenge my writing in that way. Even when in the first place I considered the possibility that research participants could collaborate in the writing process, quickly I understood the majority were not interested in that task. They were more interested in helping me. Moreover, those participants that were more interested in the research just did not have enough time to engage in such a demanding activity.

Ethnography has come to be widely depicted as a method that implies 'being-there', inspired by Clifford Geertz's (1988) idea about the 'anthropologist as author'. Even when

this phrase has been used to describe participant observation and fieldwork, Geertz discusses particularly the process of writing: how to convince the readers that the ethnographer has been there, in the places with the people she or he depicts. Even when my writing is in between an ethnographic account and an academic report, I tried to not only reflect my own voice but the conversations and shared experiences I had with participants. Some key arguments come from their reflections. However, I acknowledge that, on my behalf, there is always a grade of appropriation of my participants' voices and also a degree of interpretation that may create distance from their own view points. I am not only a medium, but an overarching voice as it is me who is writing this ethnographic account based on what I lived with all of them. Through the document, I have tried to refer to them as accurately as possible when I am using their ideas and reflections.

Conclusion

Research processes are complex: they combine the challenges of the research with the personal abilities and weaknesses of the researcher. In this chapter I explained the main criteria that shaped my methodological approach and the singularities of the process. One key challenge was about how to deal with the fleetingness of everyday practices. Reviewing some of the propositions of non-representational theories, I argued for the need for methodological innovation to foster different forms of paying attention to and telling stories about everyday experiences. In consequence, I decided to perform an ethnography that allowed me intensive involvement with people's practices and, by including audio-visual resources and elicitation techniques, I tried to explore original ways of dealing with the transience of everyday situations.

I was enthusiastic about exploring original research techniques. That effort took the form of the interview-workshop through which I put into practice the idea of learning from research participants by making things together. In that way, I wanted to stimulate a more

spontaneous way of talking about pedestrian experiences, as I think it is more likely to hear those stories through the means of a meandering conversation rather than from a more directed question-answer situation. However, I did not dismiss the interview. Instead, I complemented it by inviting people to do something while talking that could elicit stories and memories. In that way, the participants had more freedom to evoke what came to mind.

Within the limitations of my approach, I mentioned the issue of the representativeness of this inquiry that worked with a small group of thirteen people. I clarified that insightful and detailed description of pedestrian situations replace what can be considered a lack of representativeness. Likewise, I flagged the possible bias that interfering with everyday dynamics by being there may involve. This is something I bear in mind that leads me to affirm, together with Clifford, that ethnographic truth is always partial (see point v of section 3.4.2). I also discussed the limitations of my approach in terms of collaboration and participation: while I shaped research techniques to try to provide opportunities for participants to reflect in freer ways on their experiences, in the end the decisions of the process were my responsibility, limiting in some ways their possibilities to influence the research process in more determining ways.

In the final section of the chapter I addressed ethical concerns that guided my decisions during the research process. Those ethical remarks show that ethnography involves intensive relationships between persons in which power issues need to be considered. Producing valid knowledge does not only relate with the coherence of the final arguments. The validity of the knowledge I present here is also a product of the effort of fostering respectful relationships with the people that accepted me into their lives for a while and whose stories I present in the next four empirical chapters.

Materials of Everyday Walking in Santiago

Truly, it is like a forgotten place,¹³ Godforsaken, I don't know. When you walk through there at night and there are only dogs, and only one or two people walking but... there's immediately a sense of suspicion because it is a dark place. There are still many places like that one through which people walk. They are also marginalised by only walking through places like those. I mean, their journeys' lives will be those, through forgotten places. Nobody ever cuddles any of those walkers.¹⁴ There is no tree to give you shade! Do you understand? It is like... nobody wants me to be here for a long time, I need to walk fast because if I stay I die due to a sunstroke, due to coldness, or anything... mugged. Now, it must be very hard to build an entire city considering everyone, don't you think?
(Juan Onofre)

Introduction

This quote indicates what walking through some places in Santiago may involve. It gives details on the ways politics and policies at a macro scale I described previously (see section 2.6) translate themselves into the lived experience of Santiago's dwellers, specifically in their relationships with the materials of the places they walk through. The quote depicts the experience of walking through a place in the south of the city, in a low-income *comuna*. It contrasts greatly with the experience of walking in other places in Santiago, and expresses how urban inequality and segregation condition pedestrian experiences of the city.

I want to briefly summarise the context of the city of Santiago before starting with the empirical chapters of the thesis. In this way, I wish to foreground the macro level of politics and policies before exploring the more detailed micro-scale of everyday life. As I explained

¹³ He uses the Spanish expression: 'el último lugar del mundo' which literally translated means 'the last place in the world'.

¹⁴ He means that the fact those places are not well-maintained implies that nobody cares for the people who walk through them either.

before (see section 2.6), from 1973 onwards urban policies followed an aggressive turn towards neoliberalization that reinforced segregation in an already quite contrasting and divided city. The most relevant milestones of this transformation, regarding their effect on spatial segregation are, in the first place, the change in housing policies: private companies have been in charge of building minimal housing units for low-income population while the state have limited itself to subsidise buyers. The second milestone I explained was the shantytowns eradication process in the 1980s through which those located in high-income areas were moved mostly to the south-west periphery, to *comunas* that already had mainly low-income population. In the third place, I also mentioned the creation of new municipal divisions in the 1980s that were aimed at creating socially homogeneous units. These changes together with the lack of a metropolitan government with facilities to coordinate the administration of the large city of Santiago—almost seven million people living in an area of about 641 km²— has deepened differences between low and high-income areas. I now turn to explore ethnographically how these conditions have been lived and negotiated by urban dwellers.

I begin the empirical emphasis of the thesis by presenting in this chapter and the next one, a depiction of how the experience of walking in Santiago differs depending on who walks and where. This permits me to compare experiences of walking across different parts of the city and to reflect about socio-spatial inequality. I do this by exploring key materials and affectivities present in the experience of my research participants. Both chapters work together in responding to my second research question about how the distribution of materials and affectivities across different socio-economic areas of Santiago enable or constrain dwellers' bodily capacities for performing walking. I decided to explore materials and affectivities independently aiming for more specific descriptions. I start by answering the second research question since it provides the necessary descriptions to tackle the primary research question which asks more broadly about the process through which

unequal conditions affect and are responded to by walkers. Furthermore, these two chapters allow the reader to develop a better sense of the context of walking in contemporary Santiago.

This chapter introduces stories about the relationships between walkers and the materials they encounter on their routes around Santiago. I focused on the specific materials of greenery and garbage, exploring how conditions of inequality shape the presence and qualities of these materials and how they are experienced by walkers. The key argument I develop here is that when walkers experience material qualities of places they also participate in relationships with other urban dwellers who are related with those materials. I could identify and describe how some of the relationships of walkers with materials in Santiago compose stories about uplifting moods, welcoming experiences, forms of care-giving and also depressing feelings of neglect and being made unwelcome.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first one introduces the reader to the experience of the walkers through images and words. I present some of the participants' collages which highlight the experience of materials in their journeys and the comparison between places. They also gave the definition of the specific materials I chose to explore pedestrians' relationships: greenery and garbage. The following sections address these respective materials bringing participants' stories that illustrate how they experience them while walking. Both sections on greenery and garbage are structured similarly. I start with some further theoretical discussion about the specificities of the material and I situate it in the wider context of Santiago. Then, I describe walkers' lived experiences and processes of place-making in relation to each material. At the end of each section, I reflect on how greenery and garbage affect walkers' capacities for performing their practice using the concepts of 'enablement' and 'constraint'. This further lays the groundwork for chapter 6, which addresses specifically the micropolitics of walking in Santiago this thesis outlines.

4.1 Telling Stories about Materials

Let me introduce some of the collages made by the research participants showing what they like and dislike about their journeys. These help explain my decision to make sense of their walking practices by picking two specific materials to lead the reflections: greenery and garbage.¹⁵ Opening the empirical chapters with these images and reflections from my participants allows me to foreground immediately their voices and ideas:

¹⁵ For a complete dossier of participants' collages, please go to 'Collages' in: <https://thesisappendices.wordpress.com/>

Low-Income Areas



‘What can I tell you? The colours, the trees, the beautiful houses, the green and the different painted colours of the wall, and the little shops with plenty of colours that draw your eyes. The sidewalks are clean...’.

Figure 4.1 Participant's collage: Things Trinidad likes about her journeys on foot, February 2016.



Figure 4.2 Participant's collage: Things Trinidad dislikes about her journeys on foot, February 2016.

'There is not much to contemplate here. I mean, there is a lot to see but nothing to contemplate. I enjoy contemplating. I do not find any picture showing flowers; there was one, but it was behind a fence, it could not be seen clearly'.

'The green... here you can see the green. It looks nice there. Yeah, there is grass there. That is the little green still remaining because it used to be greener here some time ago'.



Figure 4.3 Participant's collage: Things Belisario likes about his journeys on foot, April 2016.

‘Yeah, and there is
filth too. Here it is all
concrete and filth.
Yeah, and it lacks
some green,
something that gives
life to the street’.



La falta de Vida
(Vida)
Muy Sucio

Figure 4.4 Participant's collage: Things Belisario dislikes about his journeys on foot, April 2016.



Figure 4.5 Participant's collage: Things Rafaela likes about her journeys on foot, February 2016.

'In fact, the other collage is nicer, better arranged. This one I just did it [without really caring], it did not interest me'.



Figure 4.6 Participant's collage: Things Rafaela dislikes about her journeys on foot, February 2016.

High-Income Areas



‘That is why I put that kid there, to show that the act of walking should happen, hopefully, through green environments, clean, with trees ... It reflects the natural within the built environment a little and it is my backyard! (he laughs). The colour of the trees, the nature alive. After all, those are utterly natural hills’.

Figure 4.7 Participant’s collage: Things Felipe likes about his journeys on foot, May 2016.

‘There are natural conditions such as the treetops or the wide space in front of a building which is ugly—but that does not matter—if they prefer to use it to park lots of cars and nobody walks there, then it is lost space . . . Look where the car is parked –what is this person doing there? And also this one [picture], that part is so ugly with the cables, the utility poles, they blot the background landscape. You can see the cordillera in the background, well we did not have a bright day, but maybe they could clear it up which would permit us to have a more beautiful sky and landscape’.



Figure 4.8 Participant's collage: Things Felipe dislikes about his journeys on foot, May 2016.

The collages you have seen show similarities in what people enjoy or do not enjoy when walking across the city and through different socio-economic conditions. Vegetation, light scattering through trees' branches, flowers, clean and even sidewalks, colours, among others, are seen in the collages of things which participants value. Among unpleasant things, we observe uneven and cracked sidewalks, fences, garbage, traffic, concrete or spaces lacking colours and vegetation. At the same time, collages show the variation of the qualities of materials from low-income to high-income neighbourhoods: the lushness of vegetation increases, sidewalks are wider and cleaner; however, fewer people can be seen walking on the streets.

Considering that the presence and quality of some materials are related to the socio-economic conditions of the areas people live in and move through, telling stories about walkers' relationships with materials allows me to understand how urban inequality is experienced while walking in terms of what the environment affords to the pedestrians. I do this by answering the question: What do materials do to people's lived experiences of walking? Having defined walking as a place-making practice (see section 2.3), this question means understanding people's lived experience of the materials they encounter as much as understanding how materials compose places people walk through.

The materials involved in social practices are key to understanding them. In this sense, I agree with Latham and McCormack (2004, 705) in their paper about urban materialities when they say that 'to argue for the importance of materiality is in fact an argument for apprehending different relations and durations of movement, speed, and slowness rather than simply a greater consideration of objects'. I tried, then, to think together with my research participants about the relationships they created with materials in their movement. In the case of walking, materials that make-up places are particularly relevant as walking is a practice embedded in places. Christopher Tilley (2012, 17) highlights the

bond between walking and places stating that ‘a walk is . . . a material journey and a temporal narrative. A walk gathers together the landscape in relation to my body’. The materials people encounter on their walks configure their experiences in a fundamental way so that we cannot talk about walking as a thing separated from the path that is being walked: researching everyday urban walking implies researching the everyday experience of materials of the city. The materials of the journeys cling to people’s bodies; there is a sensible dialogue that occurs, even if people’s awareness or attention is not focused on the environment all the time.

In the last two decades, materiality, objects and things have gained attention in social sciences. Urban studies have been a prolific field in which to reflect about materiality and materials due to the hybrid and complex entanglements of materials that compose cities, from infrastructure and buildings to bodies, vegetation and animals (Latham 2017). Relational understandings of materials make us aware of their constitutive role and action within social life relationships. In Latham words, the material world ‘is not just the background for the action of social, economic and political life. It is the very stuff through which these elements are produced and reproduced’ (184-185). In the same vein, I explore how the materials of the paths people walk create ways for them to participate in places in certain ways.

Following Ingold’s (2011, 30) argument, I chose to speak about materials instead of materiality. He highlights materials’ qualities as relational and processual, something that the concept of materiality tends to neglect. In this case, it is also a matter of simplicity. To speak about materiality feels too abstract; instead, materials is a much more tangible concept to explore and write about. I think that to learn about social life and, especially, to learn about the practice of walking I need to maintain the concepts I use as near to the ground as possible.

Here I focus on 'greenery' and 'garbage'. I chose to explore the stories around these two particular types of materials based on my experiences of walking with the participants and on their reflections, such as those sparked by collage making. This does not mean these are 'the' ultimate materials involved in the practice of walking in Santiago. Instead, these materials were mentioned by most of the participants and triggered general reflections about the city: its needs, its minimal living conditions, and its inequality. Greenery and garbage comprise the materials that appeared to be relevant for understanding the uneven conditions that affect pedestrian practices.

The way I explored these materials was through participants' narrations about their relationship with materials' qualities and agencies. As I show next, those were stories about good and bad feelings, welcoming and exclusion, taking care and neglect, life and lack of life. They were not limited to the depiction of how enjoyable or annoying was the experience of some materials. Those stories also involved actions of other people in relation to the materials: those that maintain places, those that damage places, those that forget places (such as administrative institutions), those that fight for transforming places, etc. This concurs with Ingold's (2011, 30) suggestions about the properties of materials that 'are neither objectively determined nor subjectively imagined but practically experienced. In that sense, every property is a condensed story'. In the following sections I detail these stories that tell about how walkers experience materials on their journeys and how those experiences are part of social relationships.

4.2 Greenery: Walking through Places that Take Care of Walkers

When I walk through Ñuñoa, for example, which is my favourite comuna, I feel that I only have beautiful experiences all the time. All the time! The trees! Especially the trees!
(Juan Onofre)

It is like life, I do not know. It is like... I do not know, it cheers you up. It is an unconscious thing because it is not that you look for greenery on purpose to cheer you up; instead, when you are into the green you feel a little bit better straight away. Quite different from being among dry weeds or somewhere brownish,¹⁶ which is more suppressed, more depressing.
(Rafaela)

Greenery is a fundamental material making up research participants' everyday experiences of walking in Santiago. One of the most recurring conversations of the fieldwork was about the presence or absence and the quality of vegetation on their journeys. Depending on this perception they considered a place and the experience of walking or moving through it (on bike, bus or car) more or less joyful. Furthermore, the presence of greenery in places was a key criterion through which many participants valued and compared their experiences across the city; therefore, exploring walkers' relation with this material gives valuable insights about the lived experience of socio-spatial inequality in walkers' experiences of the city.

The majority of the research participants call well-maintained vegetation as *el verde*, which literally translated means 'the green'. Calling vegetation with this quality, the adjective is taken as a noun. This shows the relevancy that the qualities of things have for people in their everyday experience of the city. The way materials intermingle with people's journeys is more complex than a checklist of present or absent things making the experience of places better or worse. This way of naming vegetation opens a path to understand the kind of relationship that emerges between walkers and environments: it is about qualities. Moreover, in the case of Santiago it is about qualities unequally distributed. I decided to

¹⁶ The color 'brown' refers to the color of bare lands.

translate it using the English word 'greenery'. This includes grass along road verges, trees and plants along sidewalks, front gardens, squares and parks. Also animals, such as birds or insects, can be part of 'greenery'.

4.2.1 Urban Greenery: Theoretical Aspects

Green spaces within urban environments often trigger imaginations of a less intervened natural world in opposition to the built world of the city. It is common to hear people talking about the city and urban life as detached from a somehow outer natural world. Furthermore, this dichotomy resonates with debates held in human geography and urban studies that discuss the anthropocentric understanding of urban environments to be ontologically different from nature (Heynen, Kaika, and Swyngedouw 2006, Hinchliffe 2007).

In his extensive account of how the concept of nature has been addressed by geographers, Noel Castree (2005, 35) differentiates between ideas that define what we name as nature and the existence of nature as an object in itself: 'Nature does not exist at the ontological level (that is, the level of material reality)'. Therefore, the key issue is how we define nature, which opens the door to think about urban natures as a hybrid process. If we consider humans as part of nature (Ingold 2011, 8) our understanding moves towards more-than-human perspectives that leads us to overcome dichotomies between the natural and built environment embracing, instead, the complex interactions that create these environments.

Neil Smith's ideas challenged this duality by suggesting that nature is produced by 'historically and geographically specific practices through which humans "make" their environments' (Loftus 2017, 5). He says that a 'second nature' is produced out of a 'first nature' through human agency (Smith [1984] 2008). Nature is no longer conceived as a

pristine and untouched realm. It can be understood as ‘a set of hybrid relations between physical and imaginative, human and non-human processes’ (Latham et al. 2009, 54). Therefore, nature in urban environments is not only composed of trees, plants, animals and unbuilt places but it ‘encompasses a vast range of human experience from the finest achievements in architecture to the most abject and life-threatening conditions’ (Gandy 2010, 183).

Parallel to the academic debate about nature, people I walked with often expressed dichotomic notions of nature and the city. Considering that Santiago has extreme contrasts in the presence and distribution of vegetation, it is not surprising that many people do not feel the place they inhabit to be part of the natural world, often represented as a harmonic world of vegetation and animal life. While in the academy we can conceive of materials such as concrete and dirt as part of urban nature, they are experienced by many of the people I walked with as part of places that lacked life and, therefore, not ‘natural’ places. Not all kinds of arrangements will afford the same opportunities for dwellers to experience and embody spaces. In that sense, I agree with the idea that we should not reduce the debate on urban nature to ‘a narrative of critical disenchantment’ and that it is useful to acknowledge that we commonly ask nature to be ‘a set of hybrid processes through which to cultivate benign forms of attachment and involvement in the city’ (Latham et al. 2009, 60). The cultivation of ‘benign attachments’ is fostered by certain materials’ qualities. Vegetation’s qualities, that for walkers in Santiago consist of bringing and gathering feelings of liveliness—as far as I could distinguish, conform to these kinds of particular arrangements for benign attachments with the city.

Research participants acknowledged that the presence of greenery helps to create good experiences of walking: it impacts deeply on walking bodies. Greenery participates in walking experiences to a great extent being one of the ubiquitous materials of the practice

of everyday walking in Santiago, whether because of its presence, but most of the time, because of its absence. Different places in the city show different balances and qualities of greenery. The arrangements of materials within urban space are not neutral in the sense that there are spaces better endowed, designed or maintained that people recognise as better places to walk through. In this regard, Neil Smith (2006, xiv-xv) sustains that

the production of urban nature is deeply political but it has also received far less scrutiny and seems far less visible, precisely because the arrangement of asphalt and concrete, water mains and garbage dumps, cars and subways seems so inimical to our intuitive sense of (external) nature.

This distribution is highly related to socio-economic conditions of dwellers and local governments. This way, materials' configurations of places are enmeshed into social dynamics and, consequently, they do not always make up even or just environments. Thus, the qualities of the materials places are made of, and in Santiago particularly the presence or absence of elements such as those we generally call 'nature', produce uneven urban geographies.

4.2.2 The Context: Santiago's Green Gap¹⁷

Seeing Santiago in spring or summer time from the top of one of the numerous hills that surround it reveals its particular distribution of green areas: north-east and central areas of the city are greener, contrasting with the rest of the city that turns more and more grey. On a different scale, on the ground, this difference is noticed travelling from the southern and western areas towards the centre and the north-east: more and bigger trees, greener squares and parks, more grass in public spaces and lush front gardens.

¹⁷ I am inspired by a report title about green spaces' distribution in Greater Santiago produced by Atisba (2011), a company dedicated to developing urban studies and projects.

Santiago has a Mediterranean climate with a drought period that extends for about six months corresponding mainly with spring and summer (di Castri and Hajek 1976, INE 2016). The native vegetation—called *sclerophyll*—correspond with plants and trees adapted to long dry seasons. Originally Santiago does not present a dense green landscape with big leafy trees, plants and grass which speaks of having enough resources for watering and maintenance. It is not surprising, then, that the green spots appreciated from above in the following image tend to coincide with the wealthiest areas of the city (in the north-east):

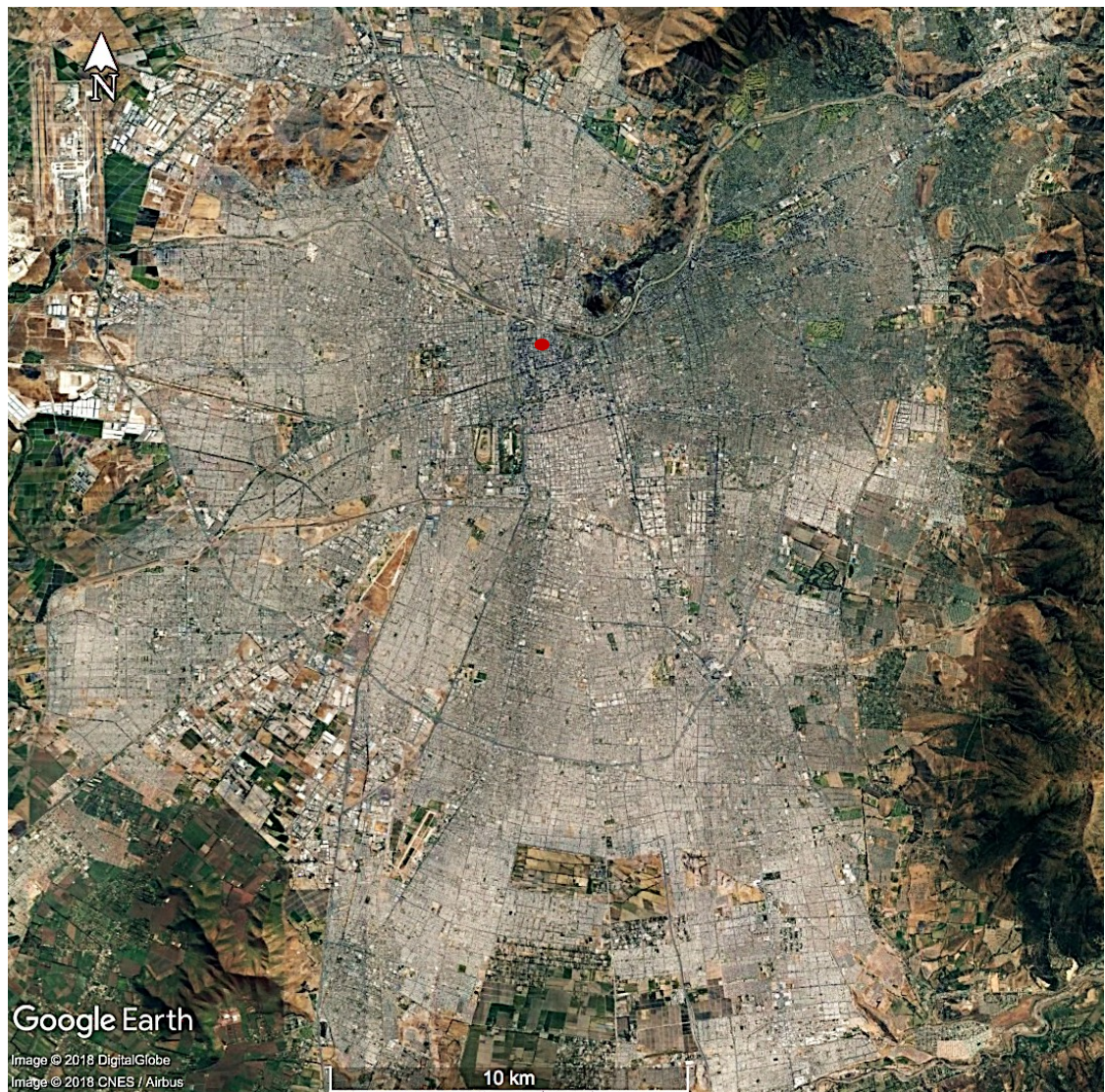


Figure 4.9 Santiago de Chile, satellite image. Source: ©Google Earth 2018.

The pattern of the distribution of vegetation is not haphazard. It goes hand in hand with Santiago's urbanization process. Walking around central places in Santiago (the red spot on the map above is the city centre) you can find parks, squares, and big trees. Most of them are inherited from the 19th century. They are the result of the efforts of the political elites to transform Santiago into a modern city. By the end of the century, Santiago was a little town of around 130 thousand people (Rodríguez Vignoli 1993, 100) of which only a tiny part lived in the urbanised city centre. The elites, whose economic power was based on mine activities and farm ownership, were the inhabitants of that sumptuous Santiago. They lived in big houses that imitated European styles in vogue. Commonly, these little palaces 'were surrounded by gardens and parks that segregated them from the rest of the city' (Gross 1990, 74). Later, during the first half of the 20th century, the upper classes progressively abandoned the central area and moved to the north-east of the city. At the same time Santiago was growing: more and more people came from rural areas to live in the city. Therefore, taking advantage of the new possibilities the car allowed for moving across the city, the elites and the wealthy population started to look for more exclusive spaces to live where they could embrace the new suburban city model: the garden-city (Mora, Greene, and Berrios 2010, 15).

It is possible to distinguish a sort of green trace the elites have left in the city through their residential movement looking for living in more exclusive spaces. Juan Onofre reflects about this. For him, big trees in those areas once or still inhabited by wealthy groups reveal that vegetation has been maintained and therefore, it means that there have been resources to do that. He says: '*. . . in Ñuñoa [comuna] you find trees. You find these enormous pines with huge trunks that you realised were taken care of. They have probably been there since colonial times*'. But not only economic means are needed to maintain green areas within the city. On another occasion, he continues by considering how

people's educational background is also related to the action of taking care of your environment:

They were looked after [the trees]. Also, people had a good education so they knew this natural resource was of great value; therefore, they took care of it . . . In those areas there is more money, there is also more education, there is more of everything and therefore, there is more heritage . . . Then you go to San Ramón [his comuna] and there is no money, no education, no nothing. There are not big old houses because no important family lived there. Also, there is no knowledge or appraisal of what trees are.

This does not mean that only people with a good education and money care about trees and green spaces and the rest just ignore them. All the participants living in different neighbourhoods across the city acknowledged the importance of trees and vegetation in their experiences of moving through the city. The 2012 HDR for Chile on Subjective Wellbeing (PNUD 2012) showed that the relative disengagement of lower income groups with natural urban spaces relates to time availability and resources prioritization, but not necessarily with not valuing them. People mention not being able even to worry about living in contact with natural spaces because they have more urgent issues to deal with daily: 'That was a privilege only a few people could enjoy and therefore, it is important but not essential for general wellbeing' (133). The report shows that low and middle-income groups identify nature with holidays and as an elite's experience.

The massive difference in quantity and quality in vegetation across the city was pointed out by almost all my research participants across the range of socio-economic backgrounds. This perception is corroborated by data available. In Greater Santiago it is estimated an average of 4,5 m² green areas per person (Atisba 2011, 6). This rate is half below the 9 m² per person recommended by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The situation is more complex if we look at their distribution. According to Sonia Reyes and Isabel Figueroa (2010) socio-economic condition strongly

determines people's access to green areas. For example, the four wealthiest *comunas* have 32,2% of the total of green spaces. This fact contrasts dramatically with the slightly less than 4% of green spaces the four lowest income *comunas* have. In addition, the access and quality of those spaces vary significantly. Data available for the *comunas* where research participants live show a similar distribution:

Income	Comuna	m2/person
Low (Trinidad, Belisario, Juan Onofre and Malkovik)	El Bosque	1,9
	San Ramón	3,2
Middle (Rafaela, Mara, Antonio, Fernanda)	Macul	3,7
	Ñuñoa	5,5
High (Julia, Pau, Sofía, Felipe, Alejandro)	Lo Barnechea	9,8
	Las Condes	10,1

Figure 4.10 Distribution of green areas per person in participants' *comunas*. Source: Atisba, 2011.

Moreover, this data on green spaces does not consider the smaller spatial units of road verges¹⁸ or front gardens that shape prominently the landscape when moving by foot. The scale and speed of walking allow for perceiving the environment in detail, therefore small units gain relevance. In wealthier neighbourhoods, as Juan Onofre says, even the quality of greenery is different because it is better kept. Comparing the still-montages of his walks through different neighbourhoods he coined the concept of '*verde Ñuñoa*', which means '*Ñuñoa's kind of green*', to express the specific quality of the vegetation that grows in this middle-income area:

¹⁸ Space between road and sidewalk.

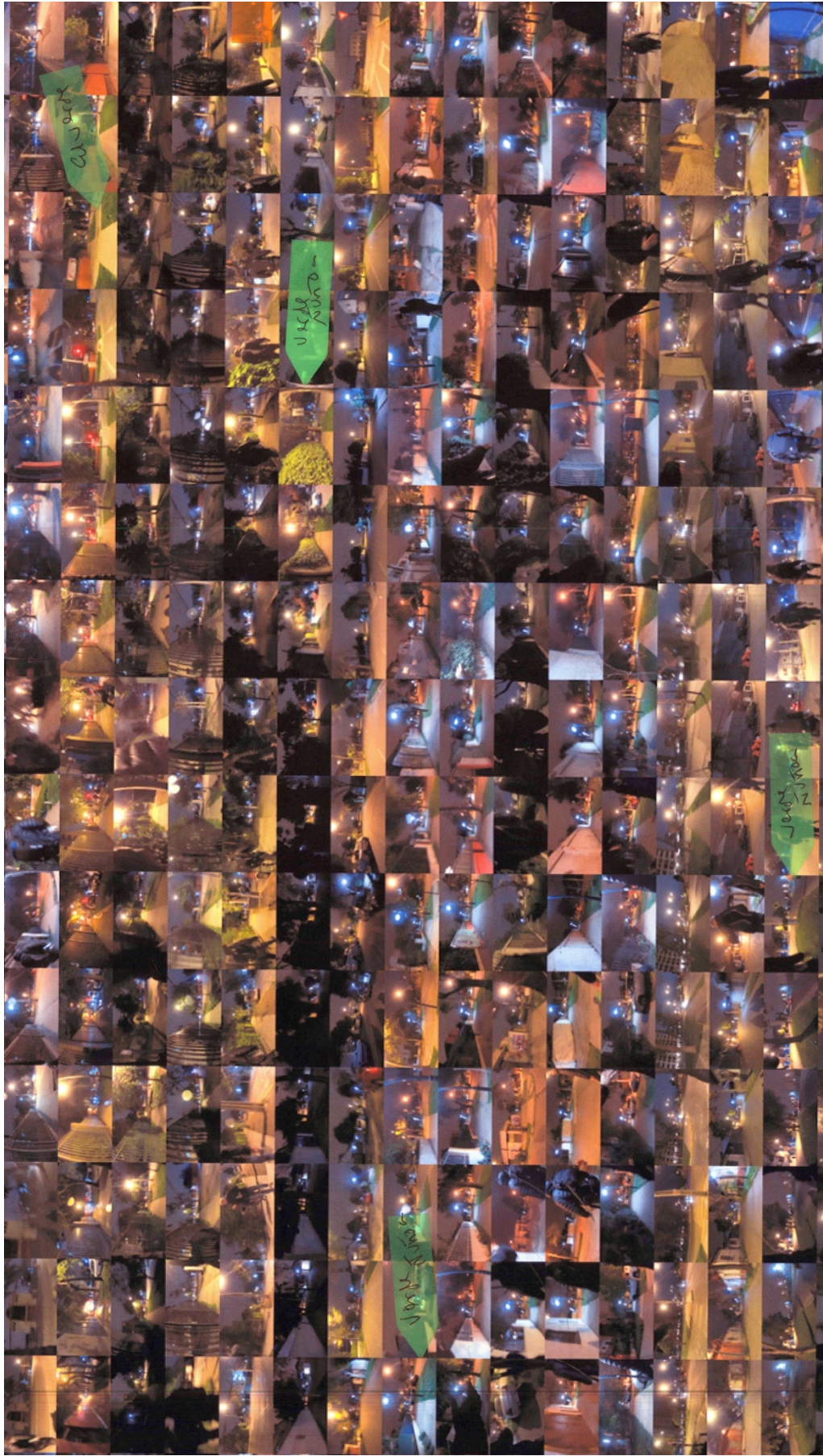


Figure 4.11 Still-montage: Juan Onofre showing 'Ñuñod's green', October 2015.

It is the greenery, the grass. The green... the green. It is simply Ñuñoa's green. Ñuñoa's green! This has a Ñuñoa's green kind of colour! Obviously, this colour can exist in every comuna, but for me, it is Ñuñoa's green which is what I like about walking through these neighbourhoods. Could you notice if there was anything like this in mine [neighbourhood]? (Juan Onofre)

Having depicted the situation of green areas in Santiago, next I explore walkers' relationships with greenery considering how its presence, absence, and qualities affect their pedestrian experiences and sense of places.

4.2.3 The Lived Experience of Walking with Greenery

Most of the people with whom I walked expressed the feeling that encountering greenery along their routes could transform their experiences for the better by changing their mood, infusing it with positive emotions. In the case of Antonio (middle-income), one of the criteria he uses to choose what route to take whether on bike, longboard or walking, is the presence of greenery. To be in touch with vegetation is important to him. He asserts that experiencing places with a high density of greenery on his journeys transforms him. He describes it as an aesthetical joy that connects him with something essential. Regarding Tilley's (2012, 19) suggestion that walking 'involves embodied immersion in a landscape', I asked him if he feels that experience as an immersion:

Exactly! To immerse yourself into the green. Exactly! And that is the thing, you know? You leave your neighbourhood, you go through an urban forest and then you get to the neighbourhood which is your destination point. It must be very different to pass through this transition [the green] than not passing through it. It must be radically different. I think I go out with a different mood when I know I will pass through there [the park], you know? And I chose it because it is so good to walk under the trees.



Figure 4.12 Still-montage: Antonio's immersion into the green, February 2016.

Certainly, this immersion depends on the walker's attention to the place. It is a dialogue between the walker, her or his situation and the path. For example, I walked with Rafaela in a very difficult moment of her life. She remarks that the way she attunes to the environment depends on her mood and worries. I asked her how encountering greenery affected her experience of walking:

It affects your mood because... well, it depends on how you feel as well. If it happens to be that I am very worried, sometimes I do not see a thing and I just walk along But if I am more aware when I walk, I enjoy more. I like it much more than... I feel better because I see some greenery, there is some water, I do not know. Birds can be heard... I like that much more than a place full in sun, that it is a bare space and on top of that the dirt, garbage or dry weeds... it is like depressing, it is kind of dull. I feel that it does not give you anything. It does not raise your spirit, it does not help whatsoever.

The lived experience of materials while walking affects people's emotions and their way of being in the world. Most of the participants agreed vegetation transmits to them a sense of life. In the case of Rafaela, the greenery experienced through walking gives her something: it cheers her up.

Walking affords participating in places, which produces a particular kind of sensory knowledge (see section 2.2 and 2.3). The presence of greenery gives Antonio and Rafaela the opportunity to follow a pathway of sensory participation that lets them apprehend and remember perceptions, emotions, ideas and so on. Greenery enables a wider range of sensory engagements with the world that influence walkers' feelings, emotions and their capacity to act. The lived experience of vegetation produces a knowledge that originates as much from the place as in the perception of the walker: it emerges from that relationship and may transform walkers. Antonio and Rafaela recount that they may come back feeling differently after encountering greenery in their journey.

The case of Rafaela powerfully shows the transformative possibilities of encountering greenery. She was going through a very serious situation. Nevertheless, the things she encountered on her walks could help her, especially when they afforded joyful sensations:

*This is what I love! This is why I like to see greenery because... it is like it soothes the pain. Eh... it gives me hope that everything cannot be so bad; that one day everything will change. Imagine if I go out for a walk and I could only walk amid garbage... I do not know, all of those things we saw: the stones piled on one side of the road and the sewers blocked.*¹⁹

While most of the participants agree on associating greenery with benign emotions and senses, this joy is enacted differently by each of them: it is an adventure in the case of Juan Onofre; taking a breather in the case of Mara; connecting with an essential origin in the case of Antonio and, lastly, a source of hope for Rafaela.

In the case of trees the same is true but with a singularity I want to remark on: they are felt as companions. Other green elements may generate experiences of beauty, peace, pleasure or hope. Trees might do so but, in addition, they can be perceived as presences that walk with you as much as you walk with them. Participants that developed this relation with the trees of their walks described the presence of trees like that of another being. In that sense, they can be conceived as a 'significant natural being' (Jones and Cloke 2008, 88). This relationship was more common amongst those participants who were used to walk more on an everyday basis. They were more willing to correspond with the presence of trees: in a way, the trees walked with them.

¹⁹ She is referring to the swapping walk we did in Trinidad's neighborhood (low-income).

Obviously, trees cannot go along with you from the beginning to the end of the walk. You just coincide with each of them for a brief moment. But when they are encountered one after the other in a street, they create a sense of moving with you. Some participants talk to them, touch them, play with their branches and leaves. I suggest trees give something similar to the experience of walking and talking with another person: a dialogue. In the case of trees, it is a sensorial dialogue. Trees also move with walkers in time, especially when they walk habitually the same routes. For example, Alejandro talks about how trees express time passing in their own changes through the year: autumn leaves, nude winter branches, spring flowers, leafy tops. Thus, it is possible to say that in space as much as in time trees walk with people.

Some participants manifested this sense of the companionship of trees by talking about them as witnesses of their lives. Trees have seen people getting older and they also remind them of past times when both, the person and the tree were younger. For example, in Mara's case, she has lived all her life in the same neighbourhood. Therefore, for her, trees keep memories. Moreover, their material qualities also tell her about time passing because trees have changed:

These were my childhood paths. I think that is the reason why I love so much to walk here. Somehow they bring memories of... this is like my soul's landscape! Look at these trees! They are thick, they are grown-up. These ones must have been little branches when I was a child. These others have always been here. They look nice.

Trees do not only witness human beings' lives. Their own lives are tied up to the social life of the places where they grow (Ingold 2000, 204). My assertion that trees walk with people can be understood as well from this perspective. In Santiago, it is evident how tree lives are different depending on the place they grow, whether in higher or lower income neighbourhoods. When there is a lack of resources to maintain public spaces, living beings that compose those places get affected too. As Juan Onofre grasps in his expression

‘Ñuñoa’s kind of green’ (see section 4.2.2), in low-income *comunas* greenery will be probably different, less vivid and less lush than in wealthier areas: trees there may have a harder life. They are usually thinner, leafless and withered. It seems they need to fight to keep alive as Malkovik mentioned in one conversation. Thus, we can see how trees participate not only as pleasant materials of the landscape but really as companions on walkers’ routes and living conditions.

Summing up, I suggest that walkers’ lived experiences of greenery allows them a singular sensory path to participate in places that might transform walkers often in positive ways: they may feel their mood uplifted, more alive and, in the case of trees, their agency is not only described as emotionally transformative but as an active companionship. In the next section, I change the focus from the personal dimension to place dynamics exploring how greenery participates in the process of place-making for walkers.

4.2.4 Making Places through Welcoming Materials

One way in which greenery makes places for walkers is by gathering life together. At least, that is what I can say based on research participants’ experiences. Plants, trees, flowers, grass, weeds are living beings that act in places gathering together other forms of lives: humans, birds, insects, dogs, among others. For example, when the participants talk about trees they are likely to talk about birds, a shade under which to rest and protection from the sunlight. When you walk near leafy trees, besides the sound of the leaves and branches moved by the wind, trees may also sound like birds. This is an example of how greenery modulates places. In Santiago, they also gather life by assembling actions of maintenance and care, which gives a welcoming quality to places, as Mara and Malkovik suggest. Considering Santiago’s dry climate, vegetation needs to be watered and taken care of. Its maintenance involves a network of actors: the state, local governments, and neighbours. Besides the more obvious fact that vegetation brings life to places because it is alive, its

presence is also the trace of the act of taking care of life performed by human beings. Well-kept vegetation creates in places a sense of welcoming for walkers who, consequently, feel taken care of too. Following that vein, greenery makes places more liveable and welcoming for walkers by fostering relations among living beings: humans and non-humans.

I learnt about the relevancy of greenery in places for pedestrians walking through places that lacked it. Reviewing a video of one of the walks we did with Mara, she commented about a place she particularly did not like to walk through. When I asked what made that stretch so unpleasant, she answered: *'For me, truly, it is the lack of greenery. I think it is arid. There is not even a plant in a pot . . . arid places make me feel something like... [she does a gesture with her face expressing disappointment]'*. Then, she recalled another place that usually is very crowded but she likes to walk through. It was a metro station entrance that may not be the greatest place to walk,

but there is greenery . . . there is green; wherever you look around you will find at least a little stripe of green: the palm tree, the garden in the middle of the station . . . greenery gives enchantment to places, it is like taking a breather. If this was not here [greenery] this would be so... inhospitable!

It does not need to be a park or an extraordinary garden for a place to be transformed by greenery; some plants or a couple of trees can convert the experience of walking through a place by opening possibilities for sensory engagement with it. Of course, this should not be taken as an excuse to stop making efforts to curate better spaces in the city. Instead, I am stressing how much effect and power the presence of vegetation can have in the processes of place-making.

Juan Onofre also highlights that being out walking is already an adventure and one of the reasons is the possibility of finding nature just by stepping out of the house:

You find natural spaces in between. When I talk about natural spaces I am not talking necessarily about a park or a square. I am talking about a pot with a flower together with a tree an old lady put at her house entrance.

For him encountering a flower in a pot while walking is experiencing nature which adds something to his journey. This story suggests how greenery relates with gestures of taking care of places. Walking through that place, Juan Onofre becomes part of it and, therefore, he also receives the old lady's concern for curating a more pleasant place. By taking care of the flower and making it grow, the old lady is also taking care of the passers-by. In this sense, many lifelines are gathered together through the vibrant presence of a flower in a pot: a singular place emerges from the entanglement of those gestures and materials.

In the way greenery participates in processes of place-making for pedestrians, trees have a singular agency. They provide places with an architecture that is not only visual but wholly sensorial. By saying 'architecture' I am stressing their structural role in shaping the landscape and how places are sensed. They do this in a prominent way for walkers. They can even transform the way unappealing materials and features of the street are sensed, as was the case for Juan Onofre walking through a street full of little factories:

Juan Onofre: *No, it is not less ugly. It is really ugly indeed. But I like it for some reason...*

Me: *Is it maybe the industrial aesthetic?*

Juan Onofre: *I like that but... I do not know why... it is because of the trees!*



Figure 4.13 Still-montage: Juan Onofre, factories and trees in comuna of San Ramón, September 2015.

Many participants tell stories about the power of trees to transform places. Trees appear to affect perceptions creating places through a certain synaesthesia: they seem to influence the rest of the materials and situations of places. Walkers do not sense materials of places in isolation: a tree and then a pot hole, and then a bird. Instead, everything occurs in a shared space and time creating a rhythmicity and a continuity in which walkers participate. Within this process of interrelations, trees help to enhance experiences through joyful senses, most of the times. This coincides with Augoyard's ([1979] 2007, 73) assertion about how pedestrians give value to certain elements: 'Daily strolls persistently confer value upon certain elements, spatial particularities that overflow the rightful functional partitions and shake up territorial sequences'.

Trees can 'shake up territorial sequences' for walkers by emphasising or diminishing the effect of other materials present in people's walks. They can emphasise the perception of light scattering it through their branches and leaves, allowing light to be noticed differently by the walkers: somehow textured. The opposite occurs with noise. Trees help to diminish the unpleasant effect of traffic noise on streets by creating an atmosphere that can direct awareness in ways that make noise feel less annoying. Reviewing the videos of our walks together, Fernanda said that the prominent emotion she feels walking along Macul Avenue is tranquillity. I asked her about the pervasive traffic noise of that big avenue and she answered pointing at the counteracting effect of trees:

Yes, but I feel it like if it had less speed and more... I think the great amount of greenery there, which is a lot, counteracts [traffic bustle]... At least that is my sensation, there is a lot of greenery... the big trees... it is like a counteracting effect; the trees... a lot of big trees.

For walkers, sensory trajectories of places are built upon the accumulation of experiences of the same or related places. As Tilley (2012, 17) says: 'Walking is always a gathering together of places encountered along the way and the sequences in which they are

encountered and the effects these have on my body'. Therefore, if at some point of the day the street is not in its quieter moment, that does not negate the fact that at certain times or by focusing on certain features you may experience tranquillity. Certainly, experiences leak into each other, transforming present and former experiences people have of walking the same street. Later in chapter 7, I come back to these ideas about how the accumulation of experiences builds an overall sense of place when discuss how a sense of the city is built through the everyday practice of walking.

Finally, I could also observe that trees transform places into shelters for some walkers, which is related to the intensity of sun light during the summer. The story of Julia illustrates this point. She was the wealthiest of the research participants who almost never walks outside in her everyday routine. However, she was not born in a 'golden cradle',²⁰ as she explains. She moved mainly by walking when she was a kid and using public transport when she was a young adult and mother of two. Usually when she speaks about trees, she emphasises how the area of the city where she now lives is beautiful and full of big and leafy trees. Her current everyday experience with trees is basically a visual relationship from her car. However, when she talks about less wealthy neighbourhoods she values trees as shelters. She knows lower income neighbourhoods because she grew up in one and now she volunteers in an organization that helps women in low-income areas of Santiago. I asked her how she feels when she walks into those neighbourhoods she visits. In her answer she mentions the materials of places and the role of trees as shelters:

You walk sidestepping dog poop, sidestepping holes and either it is too hot or too cold; there is not even one tree for refuge. There are none! And to top it all, if they build a square for the people, the square is made of concrete [she wants to highlight there is no tree or vegetation, just a clear spot of concrete].

²⁰ A common saying that means that a person was not born in a wealthy family.

Juan Onofre's (living in a low-income area) also expresses this sense of trees as shelters.

Mmm... shelter, protection. I do not know... that is. I feel I am more protected in a street with trees, in every sense of the word. Whether because I can walk under them without sun cream protection, for example, but also because there is life there. I feel it like something good, like good vibrations.

Thank God there are some trees. If these trees were not here it would be terrible because without green grass, without flowers, and on top of that without any shade! No shade, no greenery... terrible!

Figure 4.14 Still-montage: Rafaela resting under the shade of the trees (middle line), December 2016.

places more welcoming for walkers, giving them possibilities for engaging with their environment in more diverse ways that correspond better to their will and needs.

4.2.5 Towards a Micropolitics of Walking: Enabling Materials

As soon as I had done several walks with the participants, I started to notice they commented repeatedly about greenery, either it was present or missing in their journeys. I expected this to be an important issue that would appear during the fieldwork, having acknowledged the uneven distribution of green areas in Santiago. What I did not foresee is the vivid relationship they had with green elements in the city. It is not only the case that they value it because of benefits such as air cleaning or embellishment of places. The enjoyable sense my research participants often described when vegetation was on their journeys, is more complex. Agreeing with the observations of Jones and Cloke (2008, 81) trees, and I add vegetation, have the 'capacity to engender affective and emotional responses from the humans who dwell amongst them'.

Considering my research participants' stories I suggest that the presence or absence of greenery is not a minor difference among everyday walking experiences in Santiago, it is a substantial one. I have shown how walking encountering vegetation is not the same experience as walking in places that lack it. When there is no greenery on the path, walkers remarked on this absence generally with dejection. None of the participants showed a negative appreciation of green spaces.²¹ Greenery being part of the coming together of places people create along their way often adds possibilities for sensing and performing places, usually for the better.

²¹ At night parks and squares can be felt as sites of risk. However, nobody concluded that green spaces were the problem by themselves.

Encountering vegetation and trees can be envisaged as part of a micropolitics in which walkers' capacities for sensing and performing the environment are enabled: walkers may take a rest, slow their pace down, enjoy, remember details from their life, etc. It may also be the case that it does not affect them particularly. That was, for example, the case for Pau (high-income) who did not notice how much greenery is part of her trajectories by foot and bike until she crafted the collages. She was greatly impressed by the tree canopy on one of the streets she sometimes chooses to walk near her office. It is interesting that her imagination of the city was that of a place where you do not often see greenery, which is paradoxical because she moves through the greener areas of Santiago. She probably takes finding trees and vegetation for granted as it is part of her everyday landscape. That was, for example, my own case. As I mentioned before, I learnt more about the agency of greenery with those participants that walked through places that lacked it, than from my own lifelong experience of walking in Santiago: probably because I took it for granted.

What greenery does to walkers and places is about possibilities: it opens new pathways of sensory engagement that add possibilities for living places in more diverse ways. Therefore, the way its presence affects walkers is not automatic. Whether it enables walkers' agency or not depends on the ways they can correspond with it. However, when greenery was present in urban spaces, walkers were more likely to diversify their activities and enjoyment of places. In Santiago, particularly, this agency may involve making people feel joyful and accompanied in places that welcome and take care of them.

4.3 Garbage: Walking through No One's Land

There we got off the bus at the 25th stop. Then, every day I do the same: I just keep going and going. This is a dump! If you can see, it is a shitty dump! I feel sorrow to say that the comuna where I live is one of the dirtiest in Santiago.
(Malkovik)

The garbage on the way, that is a classic postcard from San Ramón²² and many other comunas in Santiago.
(Juan Onofre)

There are places in Santiago where it is common or expected to find garbage spread on sidewalks, wastelands, road verges or parks. It varies depending on whether it is an illegal micro dump site or whether it is produced by a deficient local administration and/or people's practices of throwing garbage in places not allocated for that purpose. Some participants, mainly those living in middle and low-income *comunas*, have experiences of walking along places with a noticeable presence of garbage. Those living in low-income neighbourhoods (Juan Onofre, Malkovik, Trinidad, and Belisario) consider garbage as part of the landscape of some of the places they often walk through. It is interesting to note that their complaint about this situation was not simply about the ugliness, unpleasantness or unhealthiness of those situations. They mentioned these aspects, but the main blame was related to the position of those places in the bigger scene of the city: why some places need to deal with this problem while others do not.

Encountering garbage in places constrains the experience of walking: it restricts places research participants can walk through and diminishes their options for engaging with other elements that configure the place. If they are not familiar with the place they are walking, it may make them worry about safety because it may trigger imaginations of danger. However, the main distress garbage provokes during research participants' everyday walks is related to not being recognised as a dweller who deserves to inhabit a

²² Comuna of San Ramón

well-maintained environment; therefore, experiencing garbage was to feel a lack of care whether from other dwellers or from institutions. Encountering garbage in everyday journeys poses a disruption for many of these walkers' rhythms, an interruption that put them in relationship with others: Who? Why here?

4.3.1 The Context: Santiago's Threads of Garbage



Figure 4.15 Swapping walk in comuna of El Bosque. Source: Juan Onofre; used with his permission, March 2016.

Among the lowest socio-economic groups [in Santiago], the complaint also arose about the condition of semi-confinement in which they live, the ugliness, and the messiness.

Differences with other social classes and neighbourhoods stand out
(PNUD 2012, 133).

Garbage is not, usually, a desired material to encounter walking on the streets. In Greater Santiago, local governments—*municipalidades*—are responsible for garbage collection from buildings. Each *municipalidad* has its own system and particular contracts with private companies. Together with garbage collection, *municipalidades* are in charge as well of the maintenance of public spaces. They establish some regulations that include certain duties for residents such as maintaining the space in front of their buildings. If all these measures worked properly, it would be unusual for a person to find garbage in the places she or he walks through, at least not in a predominant way. However, this is not the case in many places in Santiago.

The space the video-still below shows is frequently used as a micro dump site. Belisario and Trinidad have to deal with it in their everyday life as it is located next to their home. Trinidad comments that it was exceptionally clean the day this image was recorded:



Figure 4.16 Video-still: Factory brick wall near Belisario's home, November 2015.

Belisario depicts how one part of the sidewalk is interrupted by garbage and how he needs to find his way by changing sidewalks: *'Yes, there is no sidewalk there and if there is any, it is full of garbage. That is why we cross the street to the other side and then we cross to that side again'*. That stretch of the street corresponds to a big property that encompasses a warehouse and a factory. The facade is a long brick wall. People should be able to walk down that part of the sidewalk as it connects two residential areas and it is a big avenue. Nonetheless, if you walk in that side of the street you need to do what Belisario does: cross, keep walking on the other side of the avenue and then when the factory wall ends—and the micro dump site ends too—cross back.

The garbage thrown there does not come exclusively from the neighbourhood next to the factory. Belisario and Trinidad tell me that they often see trucks dropping rubbish and

waste there. The issue is broader than the mere behaviour of the people who live nearby. Another participant, Mara (middle-income neighbourhood), tells me that one of the jobs she had some time ago involved visiting and walking through different low-income neighbourhoods in Santiago:

It seems that the poorer the place is, the more garbage is thrown there . . . And it is not that the people who live there are messy, other people come from other places to drop the garbage there, in poorer people's open spaces.

The presence of garbage in these amounts responds, in part, to the relation of those places to other places in the city. Some places deal with the garbage produced by others in other neighbourhoods. Those are on the 'receiving-end' (Massey 1991, 26) of the flows of the informal management of garbage. I heard different explanations and stories about the waste sources that create these kinds of micro dump sites; therefore, I assume they are the product of a complex mix of practices including organised illegal collection (in this case the garbage may come from other areas of the city), local government's lack of supervision and neighbours' practices with their own garbage. For example, Trinidad tells that some people leave the garbage out of their homes on no collection days. Then, the stray dogs tear the bags and the rubbish is spread by the wind piling up next to the factory's wall. Trinidad explains another common practice that helps this situation: *'There are some men, voladitos²³, who are always hanging around with a wheelbarrow and people give them money to clean up the rubble. And they leave all of that [rubble] there [next to the factory wall]'*.

The existence of micro dump sites is an extended problem affecting many *comunas* in Greater Santiago. No doubt it is complex to address since it involves informal practices that can be difficult to tackle. Often you can hear from some people living in wealthier

²³ Drug addicts

areas blaming poorer people's 'bad habits', when it is clearly a more complex problem that exceeds neighbourhoods' limits, including the whole city's waste management system.

Oscar Vázquez (2011) makes a distinction between 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' garbage collection systems. The 'traditional' one corresponds to the formal system managed by *municipalidades*, whereas the 'non-traditional' corresponds to those unregulated practices using informal actors to collect the garbage and throw it in illegal dump sites. The use of the term 'traditional' is inaccurate in my opinion. It may lead to an equivocal understanding of the situation. Informal practices of garbage collection are rooted in people's habits and in that sense, they could be characterised as 'traditional' too. Since I was a child I have heard that people would offer money to somebody else to take waste out of their homes, probably an old piece of furniture or some rubble; that way they avoid the tiresome and sometimes slow procedure of asking for that service from the *municipalidad*. Therefore, maybe informal practices are as traditional as formal ones.

Encountering garbage during the walks is an experience I had more often with those participants who lived or moved through low-income neighbourhoods. I experienced it too in middle-income areas but it was more exceptional and it was not due to the existence of micro dump sites. Mauricio Morales Soto (2016) shows that the majority of illegal micro dump places in the Greater Santiago are to be found in low-income areas, in the poor peripheries in the south and south-west, where the neighbourhoods considered in my research are located. There are practically none of these sites in wealthier *comunas* in eastern and north-east areas. Furthermore, garbage as a conversation topic was common with those participants living in low-income *comunas*, it was less usual with participants living in middle-income neighbourhoods and almost non-existent with participants from wealthy areas, except when referring to 'other' places of Santiago.

Garbage becomes a material some walkers need to deal with and it becomes a material thread that is part of the landscape of low-income areas. Comparatively, the case of Rafaela is interesting since she lives at the limit of two *comunas*, both middle-income areas but one wealthier than the other: Ñuñoa and Macul. She lives in Macul. She experiences the differences in her everyday walks: *'the difference between Macul and Ñuñoa is so obvious. This part over here it is a 'peladero'²⁴, there is dry grass, so ugly. If you see the other side, it is so green'*. You can see more green spaces on Ñuñoa's side where it is more likely to see municipal gardeners watering the grass and trees. There is better maintenance in terms of garbage collection too, from litter bins or random garbage that people may leave on corners or road verges. She explains that it is not uncommon to find in her corner (Macul) things people throw away such as old sofas, washing machines and bags with garbage. She compares that situation with what happens in Ñuñoa just on the other side of the street. There they have a collection day for special waste (of big dimensions). However, in the *comuna* where she lives, they need to call for those things to be removed and people sometimes do not want to wait so long, so they just drop them on the street.

I have shown briefly the scene of garbage in Santiago and how its management varies from *comuna* to *comuna*. I have shown how the existence of garbage and illegal micro dump sites are naturalised in low-income neighbourhoods. Walkers adapt to this situation but they keep talking about it, it keeps being an issue of concern. I remember once waiting for the bus in Belisario and Trinidad's neighbourhood in the *comuna* El Bosque and listened to a random dialogue between two women. They were commenting that they could not invite anybody to their houses not because they were ashamed of living in a little apartment, but because of the surroundings being full of garbage. The presence of garbage in places changes people's possibilities for experiencing and practicing these places. I dig deeper into these experiences by addressing the question I am using to explore the

²⁴ Wasteland; arid plot.

materials of everyday walking practices: What does garbage do to pedestrian experiences of walking?

4.3.2 The Lived Experience of Encountering Garbage

I could distinguish two responses in research participants when they encountered considerable amounts of garbage regularly on their everyday walks. When the place was familiar, walkers expressed anger and a sense of hopelessness. If the place was less familiar, suspicions and imaginations of danger and risk were aroused. In both cases, when unpleasant materials appeared in the way, walkers often directed their attention and rhythm in trying to pass fast through the place. They also often turned their attention inwards to their thoughts, so they could disconnect from perceiving the surroundings. Both responses are forms of disconnecting from places.

Changes in walkers' awareness have been described by Lee and Ingold (2006, 73-74) who distinguish 'three ways of conceptualizing the relationships between the bodies and environments' of walkers in Aberdeen: sensing around, attending to the self, or a state in between in which the boundary between the environment and the walkers blurs in a more embodied relationship with the environment. In the case of encountering garbage, I noticed how attention is managed differently by each person in order to cope with the feelings it generates. If there is any other material that provokes good sensations and may compete with garbage, such as well-kept green spaces, I observed some people tended to turn their attention to these materials they value as benign. If there is not, they may turn attention inwards and walk faster (see chapter 6 for more details on rhythm and attention).

Juan Onofre's explanations about the reasons that lead him to walk fast illustrate this point: *'That is why one walks faster too! How could I walk slowly, enjoying what kind of*

landscape, if there is garbage everywhere!'. If we understand walking as a movement that allows us to move through, as much as to be in, places, speeding up the pace when going through unpleasant places makes sense. That way walkers pass through more than stay in, and in this manner they avoid having deeper sensory experiences of that environment or participating in it.

Fear is another reason that makes people speed up the pace when they find places where garbage is part of the landscape. This is more probable if they are not familiar with the space. It also depends on the time of the day. If it is late, dark or too lonely, those elements may potentiate a sense of insecurity. Male and female participants disclosed either not daring to walk through places like these or, if they needed to walk through them, feeling uneasy. Both women and men mentioned associating garbage with insecurity in places they do not know well. When this happens, speeding up is not only motivated because people do not want to engage in sensory ways with the surroundings, but also because people fear something may happen (in chapter 6, I show how speeding up and showing a faster rhythm may be a defensive strategy). Some participants explained their suspicion arguing that if people who live there do not care about their own place, it may be the case that they will not care about them passing by either. In Rafaela's words:

Of course, the environment tells you. If you see [a street] full of garbage, ugly, you think the people that live there must not be so different. I mean it must not be so different because I cannot imagine that maintaining a clean house inside, with everything nice and then going out and having everything in a mess with the garbage, the weeds, without watering... I do not know. It is like... it [garbage] tells you a lot.

Likewise, Malkovik recognises that encountering garbage raises alerts: *'Walking around in a degraded neighbourhood, in a dirty neighbourhood full of garbage, I do not feel safe there'.*

Part of the feelings of unsafety may certainly be enhanced by imaginations about dangerous spaces fashioned by the media and stories people hear. However, that does not take away the fact that people experience unsafety feelings and, therefore, they will walk differently. Julia, who was raised in a *población*²⁵ but has lived almost all her adult life in wealthy areas of Santiago, expresses openly that all places can be dangerous but one tends to associate pretty things with safety:

Yes, maybe nothing will happen to you but you see it is uglier and ugly spaces are always associated with danger. [People associate] the ugly with danger and the pretty with the idea that nothing will happen to you when the truth is that in both places something bad may happen to you, but... mentally it is easier to think: here there are trees, there is grass... I will take this route and I will walk looking at the grass, the flowers, the trees, the buses... or the pretty houses at least.

Garbage and risk do not necessarily appear associated in walking experiences when spaces are familiar. Therefore, speeding up is not the most common response of walkers as they cannot just cross the place. Trinidad and Belisario, who deal daily with garbage problems in the place they live, cope with the situation by trying to maintain the cleanliness of their front building, together with other neighbours. For them, garbage does not communicate danger as they already know the risks of the place they inhabit. They know what places to avoid and at what times. Instead, garbage produces questions: Who is responsible? Is there any solution? Why do I need to live like this? Garbage interrupts their rhythm with interrogations since they feel anger and frustration, since it is not in their hands to solve the problem. The presence of garbage limits their practice of walking around: they may avoid some places; they may direct their awareness inward; they may not go for a walk if they do not have to, since the lived experience is neither appealing nor particularly pleasant.

²⁵ Very low-income neighbourhood.

Walkers tend to compare the experience of walking when encountering garbage to other more pleasant experiences in order to highlight how dirty places depress them. Rafaela, for example, compares her feelings walking in different places, being part of different material arrangements:

When I am forced into going out, the fact of seeing greenery helps to diminish the bad mood of having to do administrative tasks. If I see a tidy and clean place it is like... I do not know, it relaxes me. If I had to do the same administrative tasks but going through ugly places, full of garbage and weeds, or having the pavement in bad conditions, it is like more depressing.

Malkovik agrees with the appreciation that places with garbage depress your mood:

The thing is that an ambience which is agreeable to look at, that produces an agreeable sensation in you, infuses you with energy, it makes walking through there a nice experience. But those ambiences that are... that you see dumps, they make you down. It is what happens to me at least. I get depressed.

Whether garbage triggers a sense of risk making people speed up their pace, or anger and frustration when a familiar place is surrounded by micro dump sites, or depressing feelings when is encountered habitually on the journey, its presence provokes an interruption of the flow of the walk. Encountering garbage constricts pedestrian practices: people may walk less or their possibilities for engaging with the environment are less varied. For example, in the case of Trinidad, she will not consider as taken-for-granted the option of going for a walk to rest herself from the house. This is particularly crucial in low-income neighbourhoods whose dwellers rely more on walking practices in their everyday mobility. Moreover, they live in smaller places which makes going out a relevant practice as a way of coping with crowded homes.

I insist these experiences of walkers are not the effect of garbage in isolation. Other materials and situations also entangle together with it: cracked sidewalks, a sense of

danger, a lack of greenery, etc. I chose to focus on garbage because it was pointed out by research participants as a key way of describing their unpleasant experiences of walking and to reflect about urban inequality, since they could clearly compare the situation across the city and relate with socio-economic differences.

To finish this section, I want to highlight that in the same way landscapes with the most pleasant material arrangements do not guarantee by themselves that people will walk and/or experience joy, the same happens with unpleasant materials. The practice of walking, as with every other social practice, is complex and many elements are brought together in its performance: the environment, social life, subjectivities of the walker, etc. As we learn from de Certeau and Augoyard (see section 2.4), everyday practices are creative practices: people have the agency to make the most out of given situations. Therefore, encountering garbage and other unpleasant material features making up a place does not mean people who walk there will be condemned to only bad experiences of walking. People may enjoy walking for many entangled reasons: the very physical act of walking, walking and talking with somebody else, the time of the day or because it is a private moment for thinking. For example, I asked Mara, who has a very deep connection with her practice of walking, if she thinks she would walk in the same way she does if she lived in a low-income neighbourhood (she has worked all her life in contact with low-income areas of the city, so she knows what I am asking):

I think that if I lived there I would walk either way. I mean, I would not be cloistered at home for the fear something could happen to me. I think I would walk the same way. Maybe I would have special places to go, I do not know, maybe I would avoid some places but... I would walk either way.

Her answer shows that walkers have agency and a capacity for action in their everyday life even when conditions are not ideal. It also shows that place-making is more complex than good or bad situations.

4.3.3 Making Places through Unwelcoming Materials

Every morning Malkovik encounters his bus stop full of garbage:

Everybody leaves the garbage there. Then, the next day in the morning you find a huge mess. Almost every morning! Why?



Figure 4.17 Video-still: Malkovik's habitual morning walk to the bus stop, March 2016.

He explains that the commercial activity in that space runs until very late at night. When they finish, they leave a mess at a time there are no workers to clean it up. The next day, Malkovik encounters all the mess at eight o'clock in the morning when he takes the bus to go to his workplace.

The way people may feel when walking through places with garbage varies depending on their familiarity with them, the type and amount of garbage they find and the frequency

and persistence of the situation. Moving daily through a landscape where garbage has become a quotidian element is different from encountering garbage occasionally or in restricted spots. It depends on the surrounding features as well. Materials work together in creating places, therefore encountering a spot of garbage in a well-maintained park is not the same to as finding the same spot of garbage in a desolate space.

As I explained, encountering garbage on walks is a common experience in low-income areas. Unpleasant materials are usually associated because they are a product of similar social processes of uneven distributions of resources. Walkers in those areas may encounter arrangements of materials such as broken bus stops, narrow and cracked sidewalks, messy graffiti on walls and bus stops, stray dogs, dry weeds, lack of green areas, etc. All these materials work together in making up places participants describe as grey, lacking life or 'forgotten places', highlighting that no-body takes care of them.



Figure 4.18 Swapping walk in the comuna of El Bosque. Source: Juan Onofre; used with his permission, March 2016.

From all the materials I experienced that restricted the practice of walking, garbage was the element that appeared to articulate comments and experiences when people evaluated the material conditions of the places they walked through. Garbage is not only ugly for the view. Belisario speaks about how it is an obstacle. Sometimes the amounts of garbage accumulated on road verges next to his workplace interfere with his route. More than once he has had problems accessing his workplace because garbage blocks the entrance. Trinidad, his partner, also speaks about how garbage transforms her sensory experience of the place: *'Yes, because it changes the ambience through which you walk; because when there is garbage, in this summer weather, you cannot even stand the smell sometimes'*. Belisario and Trinidad have the more extreme experience with garbage among the participants I walked with, for them garbage is a constitutive material of their practice of walking around their neighbourhood.

The case of Juan Onofre and Malkovik (neighbours) is slightly different. They also live in a low-income *comuna*, but their main problem with garbage does not consist in micro dump sites, but in the lack of maintenance of public spaces by the local government. They live in a street in which a market takes place twice a week. When the market leaves, a lot of garbage remains and it takes time, even a couple of days until the municipal cleaning workers removes it. This has been the situation for at least the last 30 years. In Juan Onofre and Malkovik's case, the constant encounter of random garbage here and there provokes a sense of tiresomeness. Moreover, because their everyday mobility around the city is high, usually towards central or wealthier areas, they can compare the conditions of their place of residence with different places. That comparison raises feelings of anger and disappointment. Malkovik expresses them clearly: *'Why is it that there are resources for some neighbourhoods while for others, there are none at all? That, socially speaking, from the point of view of the politics, does not make any sense to me!'*

The rest of the participants living in middle income or wealthier neighbourhoods mention garbage less or not at all. They find it occasionally on their everyday journeys on foot. Some of them encounter garbage if they need to go to other parts of the city. Those that living in middle-income neighbourhoods sometimes have some problematic spots near to their homes. However, these encounters are felt as exceptions and they do not mention garbage to describe their everyday walking landscapes. As I mentioned, Rafaela²⁶ experiences those differences on her everyday walks. Normally her walks for pleasure are towards the wealthier *comuna* of Ñuñoa. When she needs to walk towards Macul *comuna*, it is probably for specific purposes such as visiting her local health care centre or going to the supermarket. She encounters more garbage in these trajectories, on which she comments when reviewing one of the videos of our walks:

Look at that street! It is even, it is not cracked, it does not have any pot hole. But look at the garbage! It makes it look uglier immediately. Look! It even seems like a cloudy day [it was a sunny day].

Nevertheless, this is one concrete moment on her journey. She considers the overall experience of her quotidian trajectories on foot good and the garbage becomes a minor annoyance.

The other three participants from middle-income area live in Ñuñoa, which is a diverse *comuna* with a mix of areas ranging from some low-income neighbourhoods to high-income ones, but mostly middle-income neighbourhoods. It is possible to find some spots where garbage accumulates, but they are more exceptional as *municipal* workers are constantly removing the garbage; therefore, when people encounter spots of garbage, it does not affect their sense of the place too much.

²⁶ She lives on the boundary of two *comunas*, one of them (Ñuñoa) with better economic resources than the other (Macul).

Making sense of how garbage influences the sense of place people develop on their everyday walks calls for an approach as to how people value clean spaces. I suggest that what people appraise through dirty or clean spaces has not only to do with a sensory expectation but also with a sense of belonging to the city. The qualities of the physicalities, cleanliness or dirtiness, that make up people's everyday journeys, produce a knowledge that will either make them feel part of the city, or not. I resort to the famous idea of Mary Douglas (1966, 41) that uncleanness or dirt 'is matter out of place'. Douglas explains, aligned with structural theories of her time, that where we find dirt there is an order and a definition of what is rejected as 'inappropriate elements' (36) within a system. Taking this idea about dirt, I can argue following Dipesh Chakrabarty (1992) that the presence of garbage as the main feature of places people walk marks them as beings out of place, in this case, out of the city. In this sense, Chakrabarty says: 'For whether we are talking about radioactive waste from the industrialised countries or of the "waste" of a household or village in India, the "dirt" can only go to a place that is designated as the "outside"' (540). Garbage, configuring the everyday experience of moving around places, positions those places at the margins of what is considered to be the proper city and it communicates to those walkers that they are some kind of outsiders of the urban system.

This more structural view of what garbage does to places can be linked with walkers' appraisal based on their experiences of walking bumping into garbage and other materials alike (cracked sidewalks, a lack of maintenance, messy graffiti) as unwelcoming, which connotes some form of exclusion. Their descriptions direct our attention to a more relational explanation. For example, Malkovik uses the words 'welcomed' and 'repelled' to remark on different senses of places in different parts of the city:

Look, I have walked through many neighbourhoods. I have walked through neighbourhoods where walking is a blessing, I mean you feel yourself so... you feel like welcomed by the path you are walking. But there are other neighbourhoods that

repel you: the dirt, people's lack of culture. . . neighbourhoods totally abandoned, neighbourhoods like... 'godforsaken' so to speak.

He expresses the idea that walking through places in bad conditions of maintenance feels like walking through forgotten places. That reinforces the idea that certain materials may make places to be perceived as 'out' or excluded by a certain order or system, questioning walkers' sense of belonging to the city when walkers recognise themselves part of those places that repel them. These materials actively question walkers' sense of belonging: they question their relationship with the city.

On the other hand, Julia recognises how spaces in wealthier areas are '*kinder*' pointing out greenery and cleanliness. This sense of welcoming that well-maintained (cared) spaces trigger, intermingles with a sense of being taken care of, especially in those spaces where cleanliness is not taken-for-granted and is the result of neighbours' effort. For example, what Trinidad and Belisario (low-income) value from cleaner spaces around their neighbourhood is people's effort. Belisario expresses that the place they live in is not ugly in itself; instead, it is people not taking care of it, not cleaning it, that makes the place unpleasant. Cleaner spaces give the opportunity for engaging more with the environment since people enjoy them and want to stay in them. As Malkovik says: '*you feel welcomed by the path you are walking*'.

Consequently, Trinidad suggests that it is the lack of care that makes walking through dirty places feel like going through a 'no one's land':

Crossing to that side [in a different neighbourhood], the houses, you can see people go out to sweep their space. Here, instead, it is like 'nobody's space'. In this passage, we are at least three people who have been sweeping the street along the year. But the rest of the neighbours... here there are sixty apartments.

This idea of ‘nobody’s space’ is expressed by many participants to condense their perceptions of places where the materials and conditions are perceived as unwelcoming. For example, Juan Onofre talks about ‘non-place’:

We are among factories, too. It is almost like a non-place. No, not that much but it is a passing space. There is no place to stay where to stay there. There is no water tap, no litter bin. There is nothing.

Participants’ stories show that garbage is a material that can make a profound difference in the pedestrian experience of place. Encountering garbage on their routes communicates to participants that others did not care about maintaining the shared place, transforming it into an unwelcoming place. For those who inhabit these places, the constant presence of considerable amounts of garbage may provoke feelings of being ‘outsiders’ or ‘unwelcomed’. Through these experiences, people make sense of how much others (neighbours, people from other places or local government) take care of places and, ultimately, of themselves.

4.3.4 Towards a Micropolitics of Walking: Constraining Materials

In sharp contrast to greenery, participants depicted garbage as a constrictive material. Its presence affects the lived experience of walking and the process of place-making in which walkers participate. The—contrasting—agencies of both materials over pedestrian practices allows us to have an idea of how power relationships and socio-spatial inequality take shape in walkers’ everyday lives.

I have shown that the effects of finding garbage while walking through familiar and unfamiliar places are not related only to the unpleasant quality that this kind of material may have. The presence of garbage in pedestrians’ journeys affects them in a more complex way since garbage is part of the social relationships walkers are enmeshed when moving

through places. Garbage's presence in places allows participants to sensory participate in places in ways that may make them experience depressing feelings such as fear, anger, and frustration, and an overall sense of interruption and questioning (why, who?). In terms of place-making, participants describe that garbage makes places appear as 'no-one's land', either because local governments do not take care of their tasks of maintenance, or as a product of informal practices in which fluxes of garbage are moved within the city from households to these 'wastelands' near which many urban dwellers live and move around. Therefore, it communicates to walkers a lack of care from others that creates unwelcoming places.

Garbage is experienced in a habitual way mostly by participants living in low-income neighbourhoods, who are those who walk more on an everyday basis. Encountering garbage—or other materials that reveal places' lack of maintenance—constrains walkers' capacities to engage in more diverse ways with their surroundings. As well as greenery, garbage can be envisaged as part of a micropolitics; but in this case, walkers' capacities for sensing and performing the environment are constrained. Participants deal with the situation of encountering micro-dump sites or some spots of garbage on their routes by redirecting their attention inwards (dealing sometimes with feelings of fear) and also by rhythmically speeding up their pace. Both are forms of avoiding connecting with the place. Therefore, the affordances the place may offer to those walkers are obscured. Those who walk through these places lose opportunities to diversify their practice: they may not want to take a walk if they do not have to do it or they may not be able to walk flowing with their inner thoughts or in 'embodied and emotional interactions' (Lee and Ingold 2006, 74) with the environment.

Answering what garbage does to walkers' practices, as I did in the case of greenery, I argue that it is a matter of possibilities too: in this case, closing possibilities. The sensory

pathways of participation that garbage offer to walkers close possibilities for them since places become unwelcoming. However, the way walkers' possibilities for experiencing places diminish depends, as well, on their own agency, as they can choose to make the most of their walks despite garbage's presence and unwelcoming feelings; they can also deploy coping tactics or even more, they can challenge the situation by organising themselves to produce a better environment—as was the case for Malkovik and Juan Onofre who were involved in a project to renew the park next to their homes. However, all these actions require more energy from walkers which directly reveals existing inequalities if we consider that other dwellers of the same city do not need to make an extra effort to enjoy clean and more welcoming places to walk through.

Conclusion

While walking through places '*you are part of the landscape*', Mara said sat on a park bench on our first walk together. She also expressed in one of our last conversations that '*the path goes through me. Always!*'. These ideas resonate with Ingold's (2017, 16) assertion: 'But once on my way, it all seems very different. Walking ceases to be something I set my body to do, as a self-imposed routine. Rather, it seems that I become my walking, and that my walking walks me'. This conception of walking as a way of becoming places is one of the reasons I consider it is relevant to look at the materials that make up the paths people walk through. In the very moment of walking, people's everyday life is configured by the features of places: they become those features. That way, walkers embody the uneven dynamics that constitute the city, which are expressed in places' materials and in the qualities of those materials. In that sense, through the description of the relationships between walkers and materials I wanted to show how 'the politics of cities and urban environments are intertwined with the diverse agencies of the material in all sorts of ways' (Latham 2017, 191). Encountering materials and experiencing their agencies implies

negotiating different sorts of conditions: from structural socio-economic conditions of places to singular differences of bodies and subjectivities.

In this chapter I have explored the materials of places and their relationship with walkers through the stories I learnt during the fieldwork. I was guided by the question about what materials do to the everyday practice of walkers, acknowledging the agency of the materials taking part in peoples' practices. I must recognise, though, that my emphasis on socio-spatial conditions of pedestrian situations led me to concentrate on stories about the materials of places while lose sight of the materials related to the physical body of walkers or the 'walking attire' (Middleton 2010, 586). This can also be related to socio-economic inequality in the sense of, for example, the kind of things you need to carry, the way you dress, or the quality of shoes you can afford. No doubt this can be a fruitful strand for future research.

Echoing the attention given by my research participants to greenery and garbage in their stories, I focused on these to explore how unequal conditions intersect with everyday walking practices. I took advantage of the fact that these materials were used by participants to compare places' conditions across the city in a rather opposite way: greener places were associated with enabling experiences while garbage with constraining ones. Furthermore, participants tended to talk more about greener places in association with higher-income areas and about garbage in association with lower-income neighbourhoods. Contextual details about how these materials distribute differently across Santiago's *comunas* in relation to income distribution of people and local governments shows that the socio-spatial situation corresponds with participants' perceptions.

I made sense of walkers' relationship with greenery in Santiago suggesting that it may provoke diverse benign feelings that can uplift their mood. I also described that the presence of greenery may transform places by gathering life around, giving walkers the possibility of participating in an environment in which they can feel taken care of and welcomed, especially considering the effort that growing vegetation in Santiago involves. In the case of garbage, I described how it may make people feel angry, frustrated, depressed or even afraid depending on the familiarity they have with places. Walkers cope with it by changing forms of attention and the rhythms of their walks (see chapter 6). In terms of places, the constant presence of garbage makes them unwelcoming to walkers, especially when it is associated with other materials that imply a lack of maintenance of places. It may trigger in walkers a sense of not belonging to the city and of going through 'no-one's land'.

When I started the fieldwork, I had in mind that there is an unequal sensory distribution in the city that depends on where people can afford to live. While I confirmed it to be true that the surroundings people inhabit vary dramatically producing huge differences in the experience of walking, I found that through the experience of materials, walkers enter into a relationship with the others with whom they live in the city: those that take care of places and those who do not, that welcome or reject them, whether it be other urban dwellers or authorities. That affected participants' relationship with places and with the city: it was important to perceive that somebody took care of the places they went through. The stories I heard about my participants' relationship with materials while walking made me understand that materials are part of social relationships and, thus, the experience of materials' qualities, presence or absence, is an experience of relating with others.

I have shown in this chapter that materials people encounter in their everyday walks matter. Their qualities and what they do to pedestrians matter, especially when they are

heavily determined by socio-economic differences, which is the case in Santiago. Walking alongside materials that enable people to have more joyful experiences may help them to expand their possibilities for sensory engagements with the environment, making their walking practices more diverse and fulfilling their needs and desire: they enable the practice. On the contrary, to walk alongside materials that prompt distressful experiences or that do not 'contribute or provide anything' (Rafaela), may limit the engagement with the environment and the possibilities to perform the practice of walking in more diverse ways: they constrain the practice. These appreciations about walkers' capacities affected by the agency of materials advance the micropolitics I more explicitly outline in chapter 6.

I do not want to suggest a determinism or a dualism between good and bad geographies of walking. I show in this thesis that walking is a complex practice and walkers are not passive receptors of the conditions they walk through. In fact, people struggled to define what elements of their experiences they did not like or found distressful while walking. It seems they actively try to take the most out of their everyday situations. Usually it was easier for them, for example, to create the collage containing the images of the things they enjoyed during their walks. They disliked some stuff such as garbage or 'grey spaces' but many of them warned me that it did not mean that because of the presence of annoying elements they disliked their own walking practice.

So far, I have concentrated on walkers' relations with materials in order to understand the lived experience of inequality while walking in Santiago. In the next chapter, I continue by focusing on affectivities. While materials and affectivities are linked in lived experiences, to complete the description about how it is to walk in Santiago, I change the focus from places to the subjects, trying to explore the feelings and emotions they most often experience going on foot around Santiago.

Affectivities of Everyday Walking in Santiago

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the emerging affectivities of everyday walking practices. It aims to keep developing a description of how it is to walk in Santiago joining the previous chapter in answering my second research question about how walkers' bodily capacities are enabled or constrained across different socio-economic areas in Santiago. Here I describe those feelings, bodily sensations and emotions that emerge within everyday encounters and situations that constitute pedestrian experiences. I argue that we can make sense of walkers' affectivities and inequality in Santiago by focusing on the sense of safety and continuity present or absent in everyday journeys and which can be observed as distributed across the city.

After concentrating on the material features of places, now I turn my analysis towards walkers' bodies. This shapes the way the chapter is written: I rely more on walkers' narrations, using less visual materials throughout the chapter compared to the previous one. As I mentioned before, while I am analysing materials and affectivities in separate chapters, I do not overlook the fact that they are part of the same processes of experiencing places: relationships with materials are affective. I describe them separately only for analytical purposes.

Participating in places, which can be conceived as a form of clinging on to them as Thomas (2007, 11) suggests, implies encounters of different sorts (see section 2.2). Affectivities emerge within those encounters. Walkers bump into each other, into plants and animals; their feet encounter the pavement, as their eyes encounter the light and another human

or non-human glance, as their skin encounters the hustle and bustle of a busy street. Those multiple encounters can be minimal: ‘microperceptions that hit us before we are able to consciously make sense of them through our habitual modes of interpretation’ (Bissell 2016, 398). In those encounters the body of the walker establishes relationships in which it has the capacity to affect and be affected by other bodies and things along the journey. A fundamental characteristic of these pedestrian encounters is to be rhythmical, which creates a field of resonances (Ingold 2011, 60). Therefore, these multiple encounters result in the walker moving within a field of ongoing and rhythmical feelings and sensations I explore in the following pages.

My aim here is not to define ‘the affectivities’ of everyday walking in Santiago. Instead, I make sense of differences in the affective experiences of my research participants in relation to the places where they habitually walk. My purpose is to show how enabling or constraining affectivities are more likely to be experienced walking in certain places of the city, configuring a sense of normality that shapes the possibilities for performing the practice.

I do so by telling walkers’ stories of feelings, emotions and bodily sensations according to the area of the city where they dwell. Certainly, in everyday life people walk through places with a range of socio-economic characteristics and not necessarily those that match their own situation. The reason to sustain this analytical option of exploring participants’ affectivities according to place of residence is that it is not the same to walk in higher income neighbourhoods when you do not live there; the opposite is also true, it is not the same to walk in lower income neighbourhoods, however quotidian, when you live in wealthier areas. I observed that people usually identify themselves with the places they inhabit, and that sense of familiarity influences the affective relationship they create in their paths across the city (see section 1.2). However, there are certain places such as the

city centre that have an exceptional status. They affect people differently, people feel them as more open places and it is easier for pedestrians from different socio-economic backgrounds to appropriate them and feel part of them.

The remainder of the chapter is divided into six sections. The first one states the way I understand the notion of affectivities. Then, I review how walking studies have addressed the affective dimension of the practice. I limit myself to the relevant body of empirical work on walking to position my work's contribution. In the third section, I briefly explain the different mobile routines of my research participants which is key to comprehend what kind of affectivities emerge on their everyday journeys. In the fourth and fifth sections, I move to narrate the stories I learnt from fieldwork. I explore participants' narrations about feelings, bodily sensations, and emotions they experience during their everyday journeys on foot. I analyse those affectivities through the concepts of enablement and constraint—as I did in the previous chapter—which allow me to explore how pedestrian experiences intersect with urban inequality.

5.1 Exploring Everyday Affectivities

Trinidad: Yeah, I think that it is because... it is like difficult... to find a sensation that [can describe her walk]...

Me: It is then like a normality...

Trinidad: It is like habitual. Yes, because it is a habitual journey you have to do it because you have to.

When you hear how walkers feel when they talk about their walk in an interview, that moment is already gone. We may talk about what we can remember. In the here and now of lived experience the body is crossed by unspeakable, sometimes unremarkable or even contradictory feelings and sensations that respond to what is happening around us. It is challenging to identify them. Even being present during the walks it is still tough to express and speak of certain intensities and changes in feelings and sensations. In human

geography, non-representational theory faces this challenge: it 'tries to capture the "onflow" . . . of everyday life' (Thrift 2008, 5) (see section 3.1). Among some of these scholars, the concept of 'affect' has emerged to help reflect on the precognitive and prepersonal forces that affect bodies in their everydayness. It may be the case that those forces emerge from highly intensive encounters and situations, but affect 'more often transpires within and across the subtlest of shuttling intensities: all the minuscule or molecular events of the unnoticed' (Gregg and Seigworth 2010, 2).

There is no easy or 'stable' definition of affect (Thrift 2004, 59). In the opening of their compilation of works around affect, Gregory Seigworth and Melissa Gregg (2010, 1) argue that affect does not allude to a pure state; instead, it 'arises in the midst of *in-between-ness*: in the capacities to act and be acted upon'. This description positions affect as part of bodies' relationships and power dynamics, which resonates with my aim of outlining a micropolitics of everyday walking. Even when the concept of affect may meet some of my interests, when I tried to observe and distinguish affect in the fieldwork and, after that, in the following analysis and writing process, I could not claim I was describing affects, at least not in a way that matches the theory that defines it. I felt I was forcing my participants' stories to fit the theory. I was straining against their stories trying to turn subjective feelings and sensations into a prepersonal travelling forces.

Consider, for example, Brian Massumi's explanation of the way Deleuze uses Spinoza's ideas on affect, he says: '*L'affect* (Spinoza's *affectus*) is an ability to affect and be affected. It is a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act' (Massumi in Deleuze and Guattari 1987, xvi). During my work I could hardly identify kinds of prepersonal forces travelling across bodies. I talk here about shared feelings and senses but I always resort to the subjective point of view of my participants.

In certain moments of the fieldwork I could experience something similar to what Massumi explains. I felt fear or joy crossing my body and discover that that feeling was also happening in the body of the person with whom I was walking. However, I could barely define those feelings as prepersonal, not because they were not but mainly because I did not have a way of knowing it. Even when certain situations and places affected us discharging body feelings, senses, or unclassifiable intensities, I think my ethnographical methodology of walking with people led me to engage with their interpretations of those forces and intensities, which leads me nearer to concepts such as feelings or emotions and moves me away from what scholars on affect have defined as such.

In the great amount of writing on affect, concepts related to affect, feelings and emotions tend to overlap, mainly because they are part of the same affective dimension. However, scholars search for a clearer distinction. For example, McCormack (2008, 1827) understands affect as a 'vague yet intense atmosphere', different from a feeling that he defines as 'that atmosphere felt in a body', and different from emotion which he defines as 'that felt intensity articulated as emotion'. So, it seems each concept points at a different dimension of the process of affecting and being affected. Affect, therefore, seems more to be and emanate from places and situations (its prepersonal characteristic). I explored something similar in the previous chapter by answering what materials do to walkers. I suggested how materials transmit a sense of place: liveliness, care or being forgotten. However, my argument was not saying those were affects of places—in a prepersonal way—but, the way people relate to materials' presence and qualities.

In this respect, I find anthropologist Yael Navaro-Yashin's (2009) reflection about affect in her work on 'ruination' in Northern Cyprus insightful. Based on her ethnographical experience she proposes to think affect as merged with subjectivity. Her interest is to know both, the subjective emotions and sentiments 'engendered amongst the Turkish-Cypriots'

(4) living in spaces and properties that once belonged to a former Greek-Cypriot community that left after the war, but also to know about the affect those places transmit to the new occupants. She wonders if conflicted subjectivities exude an affect of melancholia in places or if this affect arises from the 'rusty and derelict environment kept visibly unmaintained since the war' (5). Navaro-Yashin's questioning highlights that zone in which limits between bodies and environments blur and it is difficult to judge to what extent feelings or affects are personal or prepersonal. She acknowledges that privileging one or the other position means a 'problem in regimes of knowledge production' and she suggests that both phenomena happened in her fieldwork:

Once again, I would argue that both are evident. Paradigm-setting has cast subjectivity against affect as if one cancels the other and as if one had to choose between camps of theoretical approach: a subject-centred or an object-orientated one. But neither the ruin in my ethnography, nor the people who live around it are affective on their own or in their own right, but both produce and transmit affect relationally. An environment of ruins discharges an affect of melancholy. At the same time, those who inhabit this space of ruins feel melancholic (14-15).

I agree with Navaro-Yashin's understanding. However, I must say I could not point at this 'vague yet intense atmosphere' (McCormack 2008, 1827) without considering what my participants and myself thought, narrated and probably projected about how it felt to walk through places in everyday situations. Navaro-Yashin's insights help me develop my preference of talking about affectivities integrating that way both through what constitutes places that resonates in walkers' bodies and, at the same time, their subjective affective resonance which is more related to their past experiences, emotions, feelings, representations of places and subjective conditions such as their personality, gender, class, etc.

Exploring affectivities is challenging. You cannot distinguish and name them in an unambiguous way. They transpire as an entanglement of bodily reactions, sensations,

intensities of feelings and emotions that are better communicated by describing how they occur. This chapter is, therefore, descriptive and intuitive. I make sense of what I felt walking with the participants having put those feelings in conversation with them, asking about them, during our sessions of the interview-workshop. From the activities I proposed to the participants, it was video-elicitation that helped most to grasp walkers' feelings and sensations of their journeys as they could go back to the pedestrian situations and remember and reflect about what was happening. For example, I was walking with Rafaela one morning next to a neighbourhood with an unfavorable reputation, when a man asked us if we were interested in buying jewelry. We both briefly commented in the same moment that we got worried. Through video-elicitation we could pay attention to that situation and we could talk about why we worried, if we feared something could happen, the reasons for those feelings and if that situation had happened before to Rafaela, etc.

Through the next pages, I talk about affectivities to refer to those feelings, sensations, senses, and emotions occurring while walking. They are continuously being registered by walkers' bodies helping to build a particular cast—a unique perspective—of the place they dwell. These affective experiences let them know about their position in the city and their relationship with other urban dwellers. Therefore, the micropolitics that takes place in everyday encounters nourishes their knowledge about the broader phenomenon of the city. From the experience of affecting and being affected by places, we build up emotions, habits, representations, which are, in turn, challenged by new encounters and events that continuously introduce instability which triggers tensions that may challenge previous representations, subjectivities, expectations, etc. Through experiencing places by foot, then, we participate in the constitution of places and, at the same time, a sense of the inhabited place is shaped in us.

5.2 Affectivities and Walking Studies

Works that have researched everyday walking practices empirically emphasise affectivities or emotions in relationship with the conditions of the environment people walk through. Augoyard ([1979] 2007), for example, expresses a fundamental interest in exploring the ‘affective level’ (21) of everyday pedestrian experiences which he depicts to be constituted by ‘the most unremarkable of feelings and actions’ (20). He thinks carefully about the challenges for gaining access to lived experience (see section 3.2), anticipating the debate that later would be at the core of non-representational theory. He uses mostly the term ‘affectivity’ referring to the resonance of materials and conditions of places people experience. Using words such as ‘raininess’ or ‘windiness’ he describes ‘atmospheres’. In that sense, he meets some of the ideas those who use the concept of affect point at:

Urban atmospheres are born in the crisscrossing of multiple sensations. In this immediate experience of the world, the rain, the wind, and the night hardly have any value of their own. What the inhabitant retains therefrom is the raininess, the windiness, the “fearfulness,” that is to say, the affective tonality. Thus, raininess (coldness, dampness, desire for shelter) will qualify the lived world in that very moment (120).

In this example, he uses the concept not to describe emotional states of people—as it could be ‘fear’—but to point at the ensemble of affective resonances in a singular moment. This mixture of sensations is hardly graspable by translating them into one singular emotion such as ‘gloomy’ or ‘melancholy’, that would fail to recognise the variety of material arrangements interacting with walkers’ variety of feelings. Description of atmospheres, in his case, was a tool to describe that affective dimension, instead of trying to name or define those feelings.

In the case of Middleton’s (2009, 1946) research, she stresses how feelings and emotions play a key role in daily route decision making by demonstrating how people may choose certain streets following ‘a desire for interest and enjoyment rather than speed or

efficiency'. Middleton acknowledges the role of affectivities in walking practices asserting that 'space is both sensually and emotionally apprehended' (1955). However, it is not the central aim of her work which is focused on depicting the diverse and experiential temporalities that take place in the act of walking. Therefore, she does not further explore the moments when emotions or feelings emerge within pedestrian practices. The description of the 'affective dimension' of walking experiences has a minor role in her analysis.

Lee and Ingold (2006) also tell us about emotions. They observe how through walking the perception of the self together with the perception of the environment move people's emotions; either it can be a way of changing emotional states or, sometimes, a way of coping with emotions: 'Emotions can be channeled through, and even become, the movement of the body' (71). They also describe the emotions produced while walking. They suggest that 'these realizations of emotional and environmental conditions through walking . . . are processes of lived and embodied experience in which the environment shifts and imprints onto the body, and it is at the same time affected by it' (73). In this sense, rather than paying attention to particular emotions, they understand they emerge as part of an affective relationship in which both environment and bodies affect each other.

In his work on mishaps in everyday walking, Lee Vergunst (2008) explores affectivities deeper. He writes a powerful description of a group of walkers getting lost during a hill walk. He grasps the changes within group dynamics as an effect of losing the way, an intense moment in which the feeling of groundedness is not just metaphorical as each pace is felt less grounded. Lack of groundedness is embodied by walkers in that situation:

Being lost emphasizes in its absence the comfortable groundedness that is normally felt during a walk when one has found or is on the way. When lost, the ground feels less firm; the route is less confidently “made” by each footstep for fear that it is leading one astray (119).

This description was possible only by being there and experiencing the moment of getting lost. Capturing that ‘unspeakable’ sense of ‘the ground [that] feels less firm’ when missing the way, allows Lee Vergunst to connect this experience with others such as tripping and slipping. Engaging with the affective experience of the practice of walking shows how useful it is to understand how we relate with the environment going on foot. He asserts that ‘everyday emotionality’ is not locked into the body of the walker but is located within the textural relation between the body and the environment (120-121). I think these understandings proposed by Augoyard, Ingold and Lee Vergunst concur with Navaro-Yashin’s assertions about how to conceive affectivity and places. Affectivity is not in the perceiver, nor in the environment: it emerges from the relationship between them.

Reviewing how research on walking has engaged with affectivities and emotions of pedestrian journeys allows me to specify the way I am addressing affectivities here. The singularities of my empirical research and research subject lead to a way of conceiving affectivities that differentiates from debates around affect that considers it as a prepersonal force. In that sense, walking studies may contribute to the debate around affect pushing for an understanding less worried about the excessive, unremarkable and prepersonal but more aware of bodies becoming the places they enter in touch with. In other words, more aware of the relationships and resonances bodies and places create together.

5.3 Living in Different Parts of the City, Moving Differently

The affectivities that emerge from walking practices are tied to the role walking plays in lives and mobility routines. Trajectories on foot are not isolated moments. It is always difficult to say when a journey starts. Is it simply when we make one step on our path? Is it when we get ready to get out? And what about the place we leave? Do we leave a place by closing the door behind us? Maybe if we keep thinking and feeling things related to that previous moment we have not really left. Affectivities blur limits, that way we can carry the place we are leaving with us or start to be in places we are heading to before arriving there. Affectivities transforms our trajectories, whether on foot or using other means of movement.

In the next chart, I summarise each participant's everyday mobility means to give an overview of the role of walking in their everyday lives. I show the means of transport according to use frequency. For example, in the case of Trinidad and Malkovik, both of them walk and use public transport. In the case of Trinidad most of her journeys are exclusively on foot, and only a few times a week she uses public transport; therefore, in the descriptive cell walking appears first and then, public transport. In Malkovik's case, he commutes everyday by public transport and most of his walks are subordinated to that mode; therefore, in the descriptive cell public transport appears first and then, walking. In the cases of participants living in high-income areas, I described the everyday mobility of some of them as car + walking. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that in the cases of high-income participants with car walking was occasional and limited to very specific activities: walking the dog, or walking on Fridays to the nearby restaurant, etc.

Income Area	Participant	Everyday Mobility
Low	Trinidad	Walking + Public Transport
	Belisario	Walking + Public Transport
	Juan Onofre	Public Transport + Walking + Car
	Malkovik	Public Transport + Walking
Middle	Rafaela	Public Transport + Walking
	Marga	Public Transport + Walking
	Fernanda	Car + Walking + Public Transport
	Antonio	Bike + Public Transport + Walking
High	Pau	Car + Bike + Occasional Walking
	Sofía	Car + Occasional Walking
	Julia	Car
	Alejandro	Public Transport + Walking
	Felipe	Car + Occasional Walking

Figure 5.1 Participants' transport means.

People who walk more, normally living in low and middle-income areas, have the opportunity of performing more diverse pedestrian practices. For them, walking is more a tool at hand that they use for a variety of everyday activities, which opens a space for pedestrians to experience a greater range of feelings, sensations, and emotions if compared with people living in wealthier areas that tend to walk less. Walking frequently and the fact that walking is for most of them the practice that underpins the whole of their everyday urban mobility (understanding that to reach public transport you need to walk), makes them more permeable to place specificities and the affectivities they may experience on their journeys are more responsive to the environment. These situations differ from people living in wealthier income areas who depend highly on the car, which leaves limited opportunities for walking. Those that have a car walk on a few determined occasions when they make the choice to walk. The car is the taken-for-granted option for

moving through the city. This is clearly palpable in Alejandro's need for explaining that during the research he was using public transport exceptionally. Choosing where and how to walk constitute a trait of their pedestrian practices which gave them more control as to the sort of experiences they have on foot that shape the affectivities of those journeys.

5.4 Enabling Affectivities: *'The place is good enough to not provoke any kind of noise in me'*

All the participants recognised to like walking. This does not mean walking is exempt from moments of conflict or distress, as I review in the next section. However, walking is valued as a benign personal practice even by people that do not walk often or who may deal with difficult situations through their walks due to safety, the maintenance conditions of spaces, or personal conditions related to health. Walking with people and asking them about enabling affectivities—those feelings, senses, sensations, and emotions that expand their experience of walking, their capacities to act and sense within the practice—that emerge while walking, I realised that simple encounters and situations have the power to infuse benign feelings in walkers.

I observed that good experiences of walking are not required to be exceptional. Most of the time good sensations may arise when 'nothing happens'. Enabling sensations and feelings in everyday walking were narrated as little moments intertwined in the journey. They usually take place within the more functional or 'purposeful' journeys (Matos Wunderlich 2008) that can be performed to allocate good feelings and emotions.

Participants that value the activity of walking highlight its physical benefits, but most importantly, the possibility it gives for being active—in movement—and being out participating in places. They value both the possibility for engaging with the surroundings as well as the possibility for connecting with the inner self. The enabling affections walking

produces are related to connecting: the walker's body connects with what is around and what is inside. Connections in both ways are always happening, there is not an either/or situation; however, it is possible to recognise in walkers' narratives a distinction between when they are more attuned to the surrounding or to themselves.

The time of the day at which walking takes place and how it fits walkers' routines influence the tone of the walk and the kind of links walkers make. For example, in the case of Malkovik, going to work implies a different attention towards the environment than coming back home. When going to work he is more in himself, controlling time and planning the day. Coming back home, he takes the opportunity to rest, which means to allow his eyes to wander as he has been sat in front a computer all day; so, he pays attention to the surroundings:

I found it is more relaxed [his journey coming back from work] because you do not need to rush anymore. You go along a little bit more attuned with the environment and looking at all the nice things around. Here I go resting my eyes, from the beginning I go resting my eyes.

In the case of Rafaela, she emphatically expresses that walking fascinates her. Most of her walks are motivated by the need to reach a place; they are mostly purposeful walks. When we walked together, she was usually commenting on the things we encountered that pleased her: green spaces, animals or clean sidewalks. She also commented about things she did not like, but her tendency was to enjoy herself whenever she could, rather than complain. These moments of connection with places and with herself helped her cope with the troubling moments she was going through. Her everyday journeys on foot from her house to the supermarket, to the church, to the bus stop or even in the city centre taking care of paperwork, opened for her an opportunity for emotional relief, transforming her mood. When she encountered nice things on her path such as gardens, beautiful houses, birds or a nice view of the mountains, that gave her hope.

The opportunity of experiencing liveliness helped Juan Onofre to cope with his midlife crisis. That sensation was motivating for him. He needed to feel he was outside where life was happening now he feels still young enough to walk at will: *'Another thing I used to think is that there will be a moment when I will not be able to walk [like this] . . . So, it is like... take your chance now that you have it'*. Therefore, the practice of walking becomes a source of affectivities that help him with his personal life. These opportunities do not always need to be positive experiences, the openness he values from walking is not only restricted to 'good' emotions. Encounters with others and the sense of being alive imply for him a relationship with contesting or sad situations too. Actually, when he was talking about 'liveliness' we were walking through this space, which shows that he has more than a naive idea of only getting in touch with places that seem perfectly agreeable:



Figure 5.2 Video-still: Juan Onofre's journey, September 2015.

Similarly to Juan Onofre, Mara also performs an active attention to the life she encounters on her way. What makes her experience moments of joy is related to her openness to the newness of each day:

It is an adventure. You do not know [what you will find] because you walk the same street every day, the same... but people are not the same, cars are not the same, drivers are not the same, the season of the year is different and each day it is a new landscape. If you pay attention, really, it is not the same landscape. Leaves have fallen or leaves were born . . . Then, it is about being aware of the landscape and being part of the landscape. That is walking for me.

Her openness to be affected by places does not mean she does not encounter any trouble on her journeys, or that she only goes through beautiful places. She is in her 60s and body aches are becoming part of her experience of moving. Besides, she works in less advantaged areas of the city which she reaches by public transport; therefore, she walks through places that are not idyllic in terms of maintenance, public amenities, and ambience. Nevertheless, she has developed an openness in her practice that leads her to value diversity in encounters as a way of being part of the world. That includes a disposition to cope with unpleasant or risky experiences from a more positive stand. She explains that what enables her experience of walking, allowing her to be in touch with the ever-changing life on the streets, is paying attention to the little details that show the ongoing process of life.

Another situation I observed that provokes feelings that can expand walkers' experiences both in relation with the environment but also with inner senses, is daydreaming. Trinidad, Juan Onofre, and Rafaela use to engage in daydreaming when they walk, while seeing houses and gardens on their way. For example, Rafaela used to go for a walk with her husband when he had free time (he had two jobs) just with that purpose of daydreaming while looking at the houses.

In the case of Trinidad, she especially values those moments she can walk on her own and have a moment of intimacy and relaxation away from the burden of the housework. For her, who is always organising and caring for her family members' lives, those moments of solitude are fundamental experiences for soothing: *'That is also nice, to walk on your own. Being able to walk for as long as I want, alone... and then all the bad moments that have passed and those still to come, go away'*. That is one of the reasons she enjoys walking in places different than her own neighbourhood. Even though she loves to talk with people and she is always greeting her neighbours, she recognises that the intense street sociability of the crowded neighbourhood where she lives prevents her from practicing that space of tranquility she truly appreciates to have when walking. This situation of taking advantage of everyday journeys as one of the few moments she can experience intimacy was also narrated by Julia, who lives in a wealthy neighbourhood. The difference was that for Julia this moment corresponds to driving alone. Besides the differences in terms of economic resources, which no doubt make huge differences in everyday life possibilities, the acknowledgement of the burden of everyday life routines of women across all socio-economic groups shows how transversal the role of women, normally responsible for the domestic work and the familiar life, is. It opens an interesting dimension for future research on gender, mobility and intimacy.

The space walking can create with free rhythm and intimacy allows both Rafaela and Mara to connect with sensations and memories and that way, to reflect on themselves on the journey. This does not mean that they will always connect with 'good' feelings. However, it is an expansive affective experience. In those intimate moments, they feel free in this walking situation to live through feelings and emotions: *'(...) sometimes I walk and cry and when I have felt grief in life I went on walking, crying. And on those occasions I did not like to bump into anybody'* (Mara). Of course, these moments do not only respond to their own will, they are also afforded by places' conditions. Probably under different and more

constraining conditions, as it is the case of Trinidad in her overpopulated neighbourhood, they would struggle more to craft that intimacy in their walk.

Enabling experiences do not only occur when the walker is alone. Many walking routines are shared, as we saw in the case of Rafaela who used to walk with her husband. In Fernanda's case her walks are mainly a space for sharing time with her loved ones; where to walk is less important than with whom. She normally walks with her kids in the afternoons or during the weekends, or with her partner at lunchtime, as both work at the same place. It is not common that she walks alone just for the sake of walking. For her, walking is a way to share relaxed moments with people she cares about; during these everyday occasions her attention oscillates outwards to the surroundings and towards those with whom she walks. The possibility of not needing to pay attention to the outside says a lot about the conditions of Fernanda's practice. She feels safe and comfortable enough in the places she walks. Her experiences are enabled by this sense of safety. We can observe how some arrangement of feelings, such as those that constitute that sense of safety, are essential for opening-up possibilities for diverse affectivities to emerge. It is a loop. As much as the rest of the participants, she does not need astonishing settings for a walk to feel good, if the place is predominantly beautiful it is even better and it adds something else, but for her:

It is more about being together and enjoying the sun, rather than appreciating the landscape. If the place was less appealing we would do it likewise, and if it was more beautiful, the same thing. At times we pay attention to some details, but generally we are more within the walk, within the conversation... enjoying the sun and the walk.

So far, I have explored mainly enabling affectivities that expand and diversify the practice of people living in low and middle-income areas. Detailed narrations of benign feelings while walking are less frequent in walkers from high-income areas, which may be

paradoxical as they benefit from better settings to walk through: clean, green, well-maintained and safer places. It is not that they do not experience enabling affectivities, but they walk less as they depend more on the car for their daily mobilities and therefore, when they walk it is mainly because they have chosen to do it and good feelings are more taken-for-granted.

Those participants that do not depend on walking in their everyday mobility tend to control more as to where and when to walk. Their own everyday lives develop less through walking, therefore, they are less exposed to encountering different and unexpected situations. Felipe, who showed an active engagement with walking as he tries to walk whenever he can, values the natural landscape of Santiago—especially the hills and the mountains—and the urban diversity. Walking experiences are more exceptional in his everyday life. For example, when he needs to go to the city centre—if it is not rush hour—he parks his car a little bit far away from his destination to walk a little bit more. These experiences allow him to enter in contact with an attitude of appreciation of his environment:

Today was delightful because I took my chance as the day was nice, and since I love these kinds of days I made the most of it [the walk], for that reason. Like... the wind on your face a little bit cold, the temperature, I love these things. Then... it was just like, like purely enjoy. As I am telling you, I did a great tour.

Pau usually walks from her office to a nearby area with restaurants at lunchtime or from the office to the place where she takes flute classes. She normally feels safe and confident when she does it. She admits that she walks only when she is relaxed, otherwise she just does not walk at all:

Sometimes, for example when I go for lunch... it varies because sometimes I may be greatly attuned with the external [environment], but some other days I am greatly connected with the internal [her thoughts]; therefore, it is not programmed [my attention].

As for most the participants, she does not need an extraordinary setting to have a good experience of walking. It is more important to feel an atmosphere that assures that unpleasant or risky interruptions are not likely to happen:

. . . when I come back walking from the city centre [to her office], we can agree that the city centre is not that beautiful a landscape, but I like to walk, so... it does not depend too much on the surrounding. Now, evidently, if I am in an unsafe place or something provokes me to be scared, something like that, I would not opt for walking.

Alejandro was the exception in this group, as he was moving by public transport when I worked with him; therefore, he could not choose all his walking journeys since he needed to walk to catch public transport. For him, the more valuable feelings walking produces in him—when he decides to walk—is tranquillity. He enjoys walking through tranquil places. In his everyday life he has opportunities to choose these sorts of walks. For example, walking around his neighbourhood he is certain that bad or unpleasant situations are less likely to happen. He can go for a stroll at night without feeling fear. He acknowledges that there are some parts of Santiago he could not do that, or not with the same tranquillity, which is the case for Trinidad, Belisario, Malkovik and, to some extent, Rafaela.

There are places that provoke more fear than others. Here [comuna of Las Condes] I go around feeling tranquil. There are a lot of things I do not like here, though . . . But there are some other neighbourhoods... here I can walk in peace, you know... and I do it. But in other neighbourhoods... in other neighbourhoods it is really unpleasant, you do not even have a sidewalk.

He is the only participant who highlights that walking to get to the bus stop does not really feel like walking; it is just transportation for him. In those occasions, he does not pay much

attention to the surroundings; he declares himself to be immersed in his thoughts wanting the journey to be the fastest possible. However, he values the fact that he can go without worrying because he does not expect anything dangerous or exceptionally unpleasant to happen. In Alejandro's words: '*The place is good enough to not provoke any kind of noise in me*'. Therefore, not paying attention should not be a taken-for-granted way of walking. It responds to conditions of safety afforded both by the environment and by the walker's own learning process of how to navigate places—which is probably more common in more conflictive places in which people need to negotiate their way of walking to not being alert all the time.

To conclude this section, joyful experiences are not exclusive to those areas of the city that have the best socio-spatial conditions for walking. This shows that to make an area appealing for walking it is not enough to curate and design spatial features since walking is related to people's routines, ideas of daily mobility efficiency and comfortability, past experiences, residence location, gender roles, etc. Enabling affectivities implies different things for each of the participants. Even so, none of the situations expected to produce enabling affectivities while walking happen to be idyllic or exceptional. Mostly, it was about the minimum conditions to be able to choose a rhythm and to direct attention at will. From that little freedom, everything or anything could be more or less enjoyable depending on each walkers' mood and personal characteristics and their willingness to be affected by places in certain ways: resting, intimacy, sociability, daydreaming, adventure, etc.

I noticed that feelings of safety and continuity (the walk won't be constantly interrupted) form a basis that is fundamental for many participants to experience other benign affectivities. Those affectivities enable walking experiences and practices since they expand pedestrians' possibilities to take advantage of their pedestrian practice. They can

perform walking more freely, without worrying much, engaging at will either with places or with themselves. Therefore, when ‘nothing happens’ the expectations of safety and continuity are more or less accomplished and the walker’s capacity for acting may increase. When ‘nothing happens’, good walking may happen.

5.5 Constraining Affectivities: ‘But I am always... kind of vigilant’

I identified as constraining affectivities those that act in doing the opposite to those of the enabling ones. This was the way participants talked about what they felt on their journeys: whether they were safe or unsafe, free-flowing or interrupted. The most common affectivity I observed was fear or lack of safety. Triggering that sense was related either to past experiences of walkers or to stories people tell about walking in certain places and times. I observed as well that constraining affectivities also respond to interruptions when places situations, such as crowded streets, interfere with walkers’ rhythms and decisions about how to walk: a lack of continuity.

The consequences of these constraining affectivities are dissimilar depending on people’s economic resources. Having options to move through the city in ways that do not require walking implies that constraining affectivities can be experienced differently when walking. If you have a car or a bike, or you can take a taxi, walking is more likely to be a chosen act and therefore, people can avoid walking if they feel something risky or uncomfortable may happen. Furthermore, if on some occasions they go through unsafe or unpleasant places, they experience this differently as they still know they have other options: that situation will not necessarily constitute their everyday horizon. I could identify that those using a car for their daily mobility tend to find the slowness and exposition of walking annoying. Most of them, except Julia, like to walk in Santiago but not as an everyday practice of mobility: they walk when they can control the experience as tranquil, safe and comfortable.

In general, when I asked about limiting and distressing feelings while walking, answers were less emphatic compared to enjoyable experiences. Narrations of constraining affectivities appeared in our conversations during the workshop-interviews after talking for a while. Distinguishing constraining affectivities were hardly ready-made answers to the general questions about when do you feel distressed, fearful, tired or in a general bad mood while walking. Participants needed to think about it. This may suggest that constraining sensations tend to be either normalised, or—when they happen—put into perspective. Walkers tend to detach constraining experiences from the practice of walking itself. Participants' narrations did not express that walking is about bad things happening. When an unpleasant or risky experience took place that triggered constraining affectivities such as fear, anger, sadness, among others, participants tended to explain it as something exceptional which occurred during the walk.

Malkovik, for example, tells me that he does not often go to the market on Sundays anymore. Partly because he and his neighbours have had conflicts with the market's stall keepers, but also because most Sundays he just wants to relax at home and he barely leaves the house. However, there is another story he had told me but which he does not identify as something that may restrain his practice of strolling around the neighbourhood: his sense of the place has changed lately. He has started to hate living in Santiago because he feels the criminality has increased and he cannot go around peacefully anymore. This sense of the city increased after he was robbed while walking together with his wife on a typical Sunday journey at night going for groceries to a local shop. The robbers were using a tommy gun and it was a scary experience. His daughter was also assaulted not long ago, just outside the house when she was coming back from the bus stop in the evening. After those events, he feels even less secure and angrier with the city.

Once, I asked if he was afraid of his neighbourhood while he was with his wife walking me to the bus stop. It was very dark due to a street lighting failure. He answered that he is not afraid. I asked in turn about the robbery experience, and he replied that it happened ‘by chance, it was too late’. Narrating this event as an exception does not mean that it had not affected the way he performs everyday walks at night. Changes were made tactically: he will not avoid going out at all cost, but he takes more precautions. He prefers not going out late if there is no real need. Also, he and his wife wait for their daughters at the bus stop to accompany them on the short journey to the house. The same rule was applied to me that day when I needed to walk to the bus stop after our interview-workshop session late in the evening. The rule is only for women, though. Their son can leave and go back home late without being escorted, which also speaks to how insecurity is performed differently depending on gender.

Belisario and Trinidad also have rules about when to go out, but in their case they are more strict. I asked Belisario if there is any time of the day he ‘prefers’ not going out. He corrected me highlighting that at certain times of the day you simply ‘cannot’ go out:

Belisario: *Yes! Later you just cannot go out.*

Me: *Around what time more or less?*

Belisario: *When it gets one hundred percent dark, you just cannot.*

Me: *So, it is better not going out.*

Belisario: *You cannot! Neither too early, for example.*

Me: *Why? What can happen?*

Belisario: *You get robbed (...) Once I was coming back from my mum’s house [who lives in a ‘better’ neighbourhood—as he himself qualifies—only fifteen minutes’ walk away] and I walked... let’s say from here to there [signaling a very short distance], and they robbed me.*

Me: *Even if you are from the neighbourhood? Did you know the people who robbed you or do they come from other places?*

Belisario: *Yes, they are from another place.*

This scene may not depict an ideal environment to walk through. Confronted with the question about fear, Belisario and Trinidad preferred to speak about insecurity. Just like

Malkovik, Trinidad uses fear to talk about other places of the city but not her own place.

For example, she talks about a little square that is few meters from her house:

I avoid it a little bit but not because I fear somebody would do something bad to me; it is just that they can start fighting and you can be hit by a stray bullet. It is just that, but it is not that I feel fear.

Participants living in middle-income areas also mentioned insecurity often as a constraining feeling that affect their experience of walking. However, these participants' sense of lack of safety relates to slightly different events and stories. For example, they do not recount feeling unsafe because they may be caught in the middle of a gun-fight or because they have had the experience of being threatened with a tommy gun. It could happen, but they do not expect it. People know things may occur at certain times and in certain places and that they need to take care. However, they negotiate these conditions in their everyday experiences. This is unlike the cases of Trinidad and Belisario who accept that they just cannot go out late at night or too early in the morning because it is dangerous. They cannot negotiate further these facts; instead, they cope with this constraint so as to avoid feeling unsafe.

Fernanda—who lives in a middle-income area—talks about insecurity as a constraining sensation she overcomes trying not to change her pedestrian practice due to it. She tries to not take that feeling too seriously. However, it affects her decisions not only about when to walk but also, for example, choosing where to live. She told me about not buying an apartment because of the atmosphere of the street where the building was located that did not transmit a sense of safety to her: she could not imagine herself walking along that street every time she came back home late at night. This shows how constraining affectivities shape but are also contested by individual actions. The ways people react to constraints are flexible and they vary depending on multiple factors. In this case, Fernanda

probably could cope with walking through that street at night from time to time (it is a familiar street near her mother's house), but imagining those sensations being part of her everydayness exceeded a limit and she preferred to avoid that experience becoming part of her everyday life.

In terms of safety, none of the participants living in middle and high-income areas, neither female or male, remember having recently suffered a particular distressful experience while walking. Some of them manifest some concern about safety and walking, but it is a general concern and it highlights that walking is a more exposed way to be in and go through places. For example, Sofia explains:

I also go to the city centre on my own, I am not scared of going there. Not at all. But I am always... kind of vigilant. Yes, you know that you are in a less safe place and you are alert. I do not go with my head in the clouds or window-shopping.

Comparatively, issues about safety were less commented on by high-income participants. They did not mention feeling any threat in their actual walking practices. When they walk, except for Alejandro who does not have a car, they have chosen to walk so they feel safe enough and they do not expect risky situations or annoying interruptions.

Exploring constraining affectivities made gender differences evident, more than in the case of materials, at least for this research. Men and women are affected differently in their experiences of the city. While men and women acknowledged fearing crime, in addition, women needed to cope with a male gaze and harassment actions that constrain their capacities to experience public spaces (Valentine 1989, 386). One clear difference was with walking at night and alone. Most of the female research participants across all areas of the city, from low to high-income, take some precautions when walking late or just avoid it.

Among them, Fernanda and Mara from middle-income areas showed more resistance to being limited by fear.

Another constraining affectivity that is highly gendered is that caused by street harassment. Women living in middle-income areas manifested more clearly these feelings, some of them having experienced serious situations. Fear of being assaulted and sexually offended or attacked mixed together. For example, when I asked Rafaela if she liked to walk, she answered with a 'yes' followed by a 'but'. She confessed she used to walk more before, and it is in part because she feels street assaults have increased. When she walks in certain spaces such as busy city centre streets or lonely places at night, she performs a more suspicious attention to the surroundings. Any person's movement that does not make sense motivates her to respond somehow: changing sidewalk, or even finding police help if there is any around. She explains how the feeling of a journey changes when you are in fear: *'[I walk] all this sidewalk up to the small shops, which is a long stretch, but during the night it feels even longer'*. Most of the fearful situations she experiences while walking are triggered by men who do not inspire her confidence. The sense of fear and suspicion are heightened by conditions such as darkness and loneliness: *'But... no, it is more the darkness or if I see a drunk man around or a suspicious man, that limits me a little bit, I get scared'*.

Fernanda had experiences of street harassment when she was younger. Interestingly, she did not remember them right away when I asked about bad experiences as a pedestrian; it was not a memory at hand, at least not linked to walking: *'If it has happened [a bad experience], I have not associated it with walking itself. I do not know... I do not remember anything like that, nor have I seen something terrible'*. The week after that conversation, she emailed me telling me about some bad experiences that she remembered afterwards. Apart from the typical experience of expecting comments with sexual connotations when

she walks past a group of men, she has experienced more threatening situations when she was younger. On one occasion a man asked her to accompany him to his place; another time, a drunk man offered her money to have sex with him. The case of Fernanda shows how particular events that have constrained her practice may be forgotten but the bodily learning about when and how to walk, remains: this may be related with the fact that she did not want to live in a street with a threaten ambience and walk through it every night.

The affectivities that emerge from these situations are learnt by the body and they contribute to building an expected everydayness that becomes part of the walking universe of the person. This ensemble of diverse experiences and learnings nourish and shape the practice of walking, setting boundaries on how and when to walk. Fernanda's case shows how the constraining effect of those encounters and situations may be contested as well, within the performance of the practice. New experiences help to gain perspective and also she actively challenges fear as she shows when trying not to be too serious about feeling unsafe while walking, as she recognises to be.

Another participant that went through a similar experience was Mara. When I asked about bad or distressful experiences on foot, she immediately remembered walking in public space during the dictatorship.²⁸ She recalled a traumatic encounter with soldiers while walking with a friend, also a young woman. They were improperly patted down. The soldiers took advantage of their situation, as it was common in those days, and the frisk became an act of sexual molestation:

Evidently, I did not carry any weapon, neither my friend, but they touched us up. It was disgusting for me. It was disgusting. After that, what did I do? Every time I went for a walk, because I always loved to walk, if we saw a corner with soldiers, we just turned back. No, we would not walk past over there. That was sad. It was like... they

²⁸ Chilean military dictatorship ruled by Augusto Pinochet from 1973 until 1990.

interrupted my way, the soldiers, the patrol cars . . . I think I did not stop walking during that time, but I used to walk more cautiously.

Mara's experience shows clearly the public space politics under dictatorship—that regulated dwellers' bodies by stripping them of the right to use public space freely—was expressed through a situated and gendered micropolitics made of gestures and actions that altered everyday life. It also allows us to think how different types of inequalities and politics intersect within everyday life. These events of abuse emerge also as result of a context of gender inequality in which female bodies in public spaces were (and still are) subject of subjugation under a male gaze and male actions. Even after returning to a democratic political system, the resonances on Mara's body endure somehow, however changed and contested by new experiences. Mara tells me that even now, sometimes she avoids some places or she changes routes following the tactic of walking she learned and practised under the dictatorship era, in case secret police was following you.

Among women living in high-income areas, since all of them moved mainly by car and they walk mostly in specific situations that guarantee safety to some extent, stories about fear are less common. However, they still mention safety as an issue. For example, Pau says that she feels that insecurity around public space has increased. When she was younger she would walk in the evening coming back from the university to her house. That is something she would not dare to do nowadays. Certainly, her sense of risk may be higher now because she has lost the habit of walking late. However, the important thing to notice is that walking at night is not an everyday possibility for women in this group, even living in the supposedly safer areas of the city. This contrasts with the situation of male research participants living in middle and high-income areas, who walked late in the evening around their homes and described the experience as nice a quiet and nice time. They do not take many precautions to prevent risky situations. Directly asked, they do not express concern walking late at night. Walking at night is not a resistance act for them, as

in Fernanda's case. We see how lack of safety, either the perception or the actual experience of it, produces affectivities that limit the capacities of walkers—placing a heavier burdening on women—to perform the walk but also to sense places and live experiences in freer ways.

Participants also mentioned other kinds of situations that may affect them in limiting ways. It was related to the anxiety produced by the hectic rhythms and traffic of some places such as the city centre. For example, as Mara (middle-income) gets older, she feels more limitations negotiating her speed on crowded sidewalks or when she needs to change between transport modes. She cannot adjust her speed and skills to the general rhythm imposed by the flow of people. She needs to sustain her position against all these other bodily forces that push her to move and which overtake her ability. These situations interrupt her mood, which she normally tries to maintain as open and joyful as she can, making her feel nervous. Similar situations and feelings are aroused by the encounters with motorized traffic when she needs to negotiate busy roads, unclear road crossings or short pedestrian traffic lights:

Right, so you say “what do I do here?” I mean, you know they [motorized traffic] own the street so if I do not speed up when crossing they will run me over. Such is the sensation. That is what I feel. I have always feared to cross such congested roads and that particular street is always very congested.

In these moments of speed and rhythm negotiations, the way she likes to perform her walking—engaged and aware—becomes constrained and she is forced to transform her identity as a walker:

But you become so anxious in crossing the street, because you need to reach a fixed place. Doing such a thing you miss the landscape. You lose yourself. It becomes a mechanical activity [to walk]: I need to cross and not be run over.

In the case of Alejandro (high-income), he likes to walk, but he does not like the city hustle and bustle or the extreme diversity of situations one is exposed when walking along crowded central places. He talks about the uneasiness he feels walking in central areas at rush hours. He complains about what he is exposed to, such as people yelling or people begging. He also finds disturbing the untidiness of the city centre during the week. He likes to stroll there on Sundays mornings instead, when it is empty and tranquil and he can decide his own rhythm. Likewise, Belisario (low-income) who almost never goes out of his neighbourhood, also complained about the hustle and bustle of the city centre. When he goes there, he does not like the experience: he feels he is not used to such a rushing rhythm.

Finally, I want to show two contrasting situations that provoke feelings that prevent participants from walking or from performing their walks at will. These are stories from the two extremes of the city: the poorer and the wealthier neighbourhoods I engaged with. In the case of Trinidad, her practice is constrained by the overcrowded conditions of the neighbourhood she inhabits. The apartments there have minimal dimensions of around 40 m². There is not much space for a small family of four persons to stay in and people usually spend a lot of time out on the street. It is normal, therefore, to bump into neighbours. These improvised encounters are positive as neighbours can talk and organise themselves around common issues. Nevertheless, this situation may transform itself into a constraint for performing walking. Trinidad acknowledges that these encounters may take away a precious moment of intimacy she likes to have when she walks alone. She does not have many other opportunities to be on her own within her routine. Too many people to say hello to and watching you makes it difficult to enjoy intimacy and self-reflection, which sometimes bothers her.

On the other extreme we find the case of Pau. She also likes to walk or to do any kind of physical activity. She used to live in an exclusive neighbourhood—where Sofia lives and where Julia used to live. It is the perfect setting for walking in terms of walkability as defined by urban design: quiet, safe, wide sidewalks, full of nice trees, no street cables, a perfect view of the mountains and cleaner air as they are high enough to escape from the cloud of pollution, with beautiful houses and gardens, etc. Nevertheless, the narrations of her pedestrian experiences do not depict an agreeable situation. What she used to feel walking there prevented her from going out. Nobody else walked around and she felt awkwardness. She felt out of place, which ended up constraining her practice:

It is a very crazy thing because it was like feeling a stranger to the place. Sometimes I looked around and I said to myself 'what am I doing living here, this thing has nothing to do with me!'. Nobody is out, almost nobody on the streets. On weekends, nobody is on the street! Nobody!

It is interesting to note that on the socio-economic extremes of the city the practice of walking becomes more difficult. Due to lack of safety and continuity in the case of the lower income areas and due to dependence on private modes of moving and a style of life that privileges private spaces and turn everyday walking into an 'awkward' practice.

To conclude this section, I want to highlight that research participants make sense of constraining affectivities they experience on their walks by producing singular narrations that encapsulate the problematic encounter or situation. Their overall perception of the practice of walking is somehow saved from distressful experiences. At the same time, even when they are treated as exceptional events in the context of general experiences of walking in which 'nothing happens', constraining experiences may fuel broader senses of places that act upon the practice of walking thus limiting it. It is a back-and-forth process of experiencing singular moments, making sense of them through singular stories—as when Malkovik says that the robbery he suffered was 'by chance'—but at the same time,

those singular moments add together to build an ever-changing broader sense of place and a bigger narrative about the city (see chapter 7).

One of the ways constraining affectivities act is by preventing people from walking as they want to avoid undesirable situations. This happened across the city: it is what Trinidad and Belisario experience due to lack of safety in the low-income area they live; it is what Pau feels walking in the wealthiest neighbourhood; it is what many participants experience when crowdedness or traffic conditions disrupt their rhythm; or what women do when avoiding walking at night. Inequality can be observed comparing the kind of circumstances they avoid and at which cost. For people living in lower income neighbourhoods, the risk of walking implies sometimes not going out at all at certain times or avoiding completely some places. The situation becomes more problematic since they cannot easily replace walking with other ways of moving or they cannot replace the experiences they have while walking, such as having an intimate space in the case of Trinidad. Therefore, lack of safety or continuity in the path is qualitatively more constraining for people living in lower income areas. The fear of walking alone manifested by participants living in high-income neighbourhoods is often resolved by getting the car or calling a taxi. These inhabitants may miss walking as well, but they are not confined to their places by the impossibility or the fear of walking, as it is the case in lower income areas.

5.6 The Distribution of Affectivities in the Pedestrian City

From this exercise of comparing different enabling and constraining affectivities, it is possible to make sense of their distribution across the city. Some feelings and emotions are more commonly experienced by walkers depending on the part of the city in which they live and move and it is related—to a greater extent—to places' socio-economic conditions. In any case I am suggesting that feelings and sensations are exclusive attributes

of places or socio-economic conditions. As I stated at the beginning of the chapter, affectivities emerge as bodily responses resulting from encounters, from getting in touch with other beings and materials in specific situations.

I have shown that those people for whom walking is part of their daily life have more diverse pedestrian experiences in which enabling experiences are related to their everydayness and routines. The more opportunities walkers have to be out there, the more opportunities they have to experience environments, events and also to experience themselves differently. Research participants who walk more in their everyday life value this range of diversity and the possibilities walking may offer to encounter places, others and themselves. They value walking as a practice that allows them to be part of places, to be active (doing something) as well as to be in touch with themselves.

In terms of the affectivities of the practice of walking, I suggest that, at least in Santiago and among my research participants, there is a basic sense that they need to engage with in order to expand and enable their practice and experience, which means to connect with themselves or with what is around, to make walking an opportunity to share, to enjoy the place around. This fundamental sense is to feel safe and experience continuity (a lack of disruptions). These are the senses I found to be unequally distributed in the city depending on the conditions of places: they are more easily found in areas with higher availability of economic resources, which is related to dwellers' socio-economical background too.

For walkers in low-income areas, these senses of safety and continuity are not always granted. Therefore, sensations and feelings of joy on the journeys demand greater efforts from them to make the most out of what they have at hand. For participants living in middle-income areas, on the other hand, the possibility of strolling or walking for the sake

of a walk is a more frequent habit and it is more available. Together with taking advantage of enjoying their habitual and more functional walks, they also tend to relate their experiences of joy more to 'being in places': spending time in places. Since they walk through more attractive settings and the practice of strolling is more habitual, participants talked more about enjoying being part of lively places: going through parks full of people doing interesting things; crossing places such as squares where you can stop and sit; or just being able to slow down a little.

Things change for participants from high-income areas. Their performance of the practice is quite different as they depend highly on the car for the majority of their everyday journeys. Most of them declare liking to walk, but also they acknowledge that to walk and/or take public transport is just not an option for them considering their mobility needs and expectations. They barely walk to accomplish their daily tasks, and when they chose to walk it is usually for determined purposes. As they depend more on the car, they perform a more selective contact with public spaces: their practice implies being able to choose when and where to walk. The key enabling affectivities they experience, those feelings and bodily sensations they could identify as joyful, can be summarised as tranquillity. High-income participants did not talk much about 'taking advantage' of pedestrian journeys to relax or being part of places while going on foot.

Constraining affectivities related to gender appeared to be general across all socio-economic backgrounds, with burdens heavier when it intersected with socio-economic inequality. These range from the fear and insecurity of women walking on the street to the burden that housework routines impose on women's everyday journeys, whether on foot or other means of transport. In the case of participants from low and middle-income areas, fear or a sense of insecurity walking through lonely or dark places are dealt with by 'coping strategies' (Valentine 1989, 385-386). These consist of avoiding walking through certain

places at certain times, but also, resisting the feeling of fear. In the case of women from high-income areas, using the car is more or less taken-for-granted at any time and in any situation. However, strolling at night was not an activity any of them practised, which contrasted with male participants' pedestrian practices living in similar areas. Moreover, Pau acknowledges that she does not dare to walk when it is dark or after 10 p.m. It is illustrative of gender inequality to note that men living in wealthier areas did not talk about insecurity and both recognised liking walking at night. This example agrees with Gill Valentine's (1989, 385-386) explanation stating that 'many of their [women] apparently "taken for granted" choices of routes and destinations are in fact the product of "coping strategies" women adopt to stay safe'. We can see how the time at which women chose to go out may also respond to these coping strategies. Certainly, the intersection of gender and socio-economic conditions of places and dwellers makes more burdens for women who cannot find a way that does not implies walking to move at night. It creates confinement that other women of higher economic background can overcome by using the car or taking a taxi.

These tendencies I describe here are a general way to make sense of the variations around affectivities people experience while walking according to the place they live and their socio-economic background. In any case I consider affectivities to be segregated corresponding to socio-economic areas. For example, people living in lower income neighbourhoods may also choose to walk routes valued as tranquil, and people living in high-income neighbourhoods can also experience situations where they need to walk in undesirable conditions or where they value being in public places. However, I think it is important to acknowledge the distribution of the sense of safety and continuity across the city, since enabling and constraining affectivities help to produce and shape the practice of walking. This basic sense opens or closes possibilities for people to expand their capacities of becoming in their everyday life depending—to an important extent—on their

places' socio-economic background. Those possibilities tend to be more limited for people living in lower income neighbourhoods. As Juan Onofre says describing walking through spaces nobody seems to take care of: '*Nobody ever cuddles any of those walkers*', so to make the most of walking is more difficult for them compared to participants living in middle or high-income areas.

Conclusion

An exercise such as walking in the city is coloured by your own interests. I mean, what happens to you will always be coloured by what interests you... by your own emotional mood, what happened before starting walking; it is different to go for a walk after a fight with your partner, or to go for a walk after attending your child's birth. Those are situations that will colour that exercise [of walking] in a different way. There are many elements, I mean, all the elements that make up the human being are those that express themselves, then, in the exercise [of walking] and in what happens to the person.
(Alejandro)

To walk is not the same for everyone. It is a coloured practice, following Alejandro's description. In this chapter I have followed what we can learn about walkers' affectivities in order to address the complex entanglement of places and people in which the practice of walking takes shape. I paid special attention to the influence of socio-economic conditions of places and walkers on the affectivities of the journeys. I have focused on understanding how they differ by making sense of to what extent those feelings, sensations, and emotions may enable or constrain the capacity of walkers to perform their practice.

I addressed this challenge by distinguishing some fundamental affective senses from participant's narrations, which I identified as 'safety and continuity', and which give walkers some sort of confidence and certainty that enable their practice of walking. I am not saying those are 'the affectivities' of everyday walking in Santiago. I observed that

when people feel safe and can perform a continuous flow, their experiences may be enabled, which means that their capacity to make the most out of their practice of walking grows. Walkers feel free to think, to go inwards, to appreciate the landscape, to share with the person that walks with them, etc. The participants could engage with a range of affectivities based on that sense of not needing to manage to stay safe or to struggle to maintain a rhythm (continuity). By comparing experiences among people living in different parts of the city, I could observe how safety and continuity are afforded differently in relation to the conditions of the places. Affectivities of everyday walking practices are distributed—to some extent—depending on where people live and their socio-economic conditions. Walking in different parts of Santiago, people are more or less likely to experience safety and continuity.

Defining these basic senses of safety and continuity allows me to compare how it is to walk across the city, which is useful when tackling how unequal urban conditions affect the experience of the city on foot. For example, what Trinidad considers safe living in a low-income area differs from Pau's sense of safety, living in the wealthy area of Santiago. This has different effects on their quotidian life as well. Pau recognises she would feel unsafe walking late at night. Therefore, lack of safety affects her practice of walking because she avoids walking but, she can replace it using the car. On the other hand, Trinidad states that the feeling of insecurity makes her avoid the square on the corner of her street because she has seen how young men exchange guns there. In her case, her way to face that insecurity involves restricting her access to that square, a place that otherwise she could inhabit and enjoy and which she can hardly replace for another one. So, even when unsafety affects the experiences of both women restricting them, the kind of things they need to avoid and the effects of it differ greatly, limiting in a more radical way Trinidad's possibilities of dwelling in her own neighbourhood. This helps to reinforce the experience of urban inequality she already lives.

Another advantage of understanding walkers' affectivities organised by the principles of safety and continuity is to notice that joyful experiences of everyday walking are about minimums. As long as people feel safe and are able to maintain a certain flow on their journeys, other elements, even if they are not the greatest, may be arranged in benign ways. Thus, having the best setting for walking may add to it but, if those primordial senses are missing, people may not feel comfortable walking even in the most visually enchanting places as in the case of Pau (in the wealthy exclusive neighbourhood where she lived) in which the lack of people walking around made her feel awkward: her rhythm was disrupted by the excessive solitude of the place.

My exploration around walkers' affectivities also led me to learn about pedestrians' inclination for normalising unpleasant or risky experiences. Either they adapt to certain conditions of risk challenging their feelings of insecurity or they come up with 'coping strategies', avoiding some situations by choosing alternative routes and times. Examples of the first situation are their general difficulty to remember struggling situations associated with walking. In the second case, examples are all the tactics to avoid risk I mentioned: minimising walking late, walking together, avoiding certain places at certain times.

Exploring walkers' affectivities allows us to acknowledge the creative role of subjects in the process of walking. It is not a passive experience, there is always a dialogue and multiple correspondences depending on walker's subjectivities—as Alejandro says in the opening quote of this conclusion: journeys are coloured by subjective conditions and agency. It is a back-and-forth process of affecting and being affected. This means that the way people get affected by places depends on walkers' past experiences, expectations, identities, representations about the world they inhabit and, finally, it depends on their

agency. This is clearly shown by walkers when they express, for example, that they do not need a magnificent setting to enjoy a walk. There is a role played by their own will.

Finally, I want to emphasise that the experiences I brought here show there is not a determining connection between incomes, spatial conditions and how enjoyable or distressful walking experiences may be. I showed walkers' affectivities are complex. Acknowledging this permits us to complicate the idea that high-income areas with better socio-spatial conditions would produce better experiences of walking and, on the other hand, low-income places lacking economic resources to maintain amenities and spaces, will produce necessarily worst experiences of walking. I showed, instead, that walkers have a tendency for making the most out of their experiences, which coincides with de Certeau's description of tactics (see section 2.5.1). People walking either in higher or lower income areas can experience more or less enjoyable pedestrian experiences. I could distinguish that the basic conditions of safety and continuity distribute differently, and unequally. These affectivities help increasing walkers' bodily capacities to perform the preactice more at will and in tune with their will and needs. The important point here is that walker's will for gathering together the elements they have at hand to create their experiences are as important as good conditions and ambiances of places. Therefore, having a good experience of walking cannot be reduced completely to the design, maintenance or ambience of places. Juan Onofre puts it in clear words when I asked him if the conditions and the form of the street mattered to him in his desire for walking through it: *'Always, always! But, which came first, the chicken or the egg? Because, is it the street you walk through that affects you, or is it because you are in a certain kind of mood that you chose that street?'* Walking is an ongoing and complex affective dialogue between the body and the environment.

A Micropolitics of Walking: Tracing Rhythm and Attention

Introduction

In the previous two chapters I explored walkers' relationships with materials and the emerging affectivities of walking in different parts of the city. This chapter builds on those descriptions of enabling and constraining conditions for pedestrians to outline a micropolitics of walking, aiming to address my first research question about the intersection of everyday walking practices and urban socio-spatial inequality. It argues that what changes in the lived experience of walkers when facing different socio-spatial conditions is their bodily capacities for enacting a rhythm and directing the attention in correspondence with their own will and needs. When pedestrian experiences are enabled or constrained—which I have been describing so far, variations of rhythms and of the direction of attention occur in walkers' bodies as response. Thus, I turn my attention toward walkers' agency, acknowledging in this way that their relationships with the city are responsive processes.

Attention and rhythm are ways through which our bodies enter in relation with the environment. They are key in the process of perceiving and attuning with the world around. They emerge from the relationship between walkers' agency and environments' affordances, therefore they are sensitive to power dynamics at work. Considering this, these two elements serve to answer my research question about how everyday practices are affected by and how they respond to socio-spatial conditions. For example, in Santiago, walkers' rhythms and ways of attending vary depending on whether they feel 'taken care

of by places, safe and flowing: they may walk in a more relaxed manner, paying freer attention to the path or to themselves.

In this chapter, then, I describe rhythms and what participants pay attention to while walking. I suggest that observing variations in walkers' attention and rhythm gives an insight into the micropolitics of walking (who can walk where and how). I investigate this by comparing four stories from the fieldwork. I consider walks that were performed under very different conditions that allow us to understand how rhythm and attention work in pedestrian practices, responding to materials, affectivities and the whole pedestrian situation. I considered stories representing the three areas I worked with: low, middle and high-income. I wanted to make sense of how differences in places associated with the unequal distribution of economic resources and diverse social conditions affect walkers' capacities for enacting rhythm and attention. I decided to present these few stories looking to make sense of pedestrian situations through detailed and insightful descriptions even at a cost of representativeness.

Addressing how socio-spatial differences are experienced by walkers and how they affect the possibilities for enacting rhythm and attention helps to acknowledge that not everybody has the same chances to walk and to craft their pedestrian practices. It gives a way for grasping the subtle everyday power relationships of the practice. This micropolitical understanding of pedestrian situations adds to the debate in urban studies around power and urban everyday life, mainly shaped by De Certeau's ([1980] 1984) assertions about the confrontation between the tactical logic of pedestrians versus the strategic logic of urban planners/institutions (Middleton 2016, 6). While he accounts for tensions of power between micro and macro levels in the city, he gives a representation of walkers that misses the great range of differences among the users of the city (see section 2.5.1). There is a range of differences in privileges and exclusions among urban dwellers

that impact on the possibilities for performing their everyday practices, such as walking. Therefore, I am concerned here to explore how urban dwellers face different possibilities for performing walking that respond to the socio-economical context of urban inequality in Santiago. By outlining this micropolitics, I contribute to better understanding how urban inequality is experienced when people walk through the city.

The chapter is organised into three sections. It begins by introducing the notions of rhythm and attention arguing that tracing them helps to make sense of differential capacities of walkers in relation to socio-material conditions. I do this by narrating the moments within the fieldwork in which I realised these elements were key to describing how research participants experienced places differently through their walks. I explain in which ways rhythm and attention are sensitive to power relationships and how they allow us to better understand what happens when walkers' experiences are enabled or constrained by socio-material conditions of places.

Then, in the second section, I show how rhythm and attention helped me to make sense of differences in walkers' experiences of places. I do this by presenting four stories. The first involves walking at night crossing different *comunas* in Santiago where we could experience how facing changes in the daytime (evening-night) and in places (from middle-income towards low-income area) changed our capacities for performing the walk. The second story occurs in the lowest-income neighbourhood in which I worked. It shows how the same spatial route can be performed in a totally different way depending on the walker's agency, emotional disposition and destiny point. The third story shows how it is to walk with children through a middle-income neighbourhood. It focusses mainly on showing how diversity boosts walkers experiences and possibilities for practicing walking. The last story is from a wealthier neighbourhood, when I accompanied my participant to walk the dog. It shows how the walker is in control of many aspects of the walk and how

the homogeneity of his material and affective experience corresponds with the flow of his attention and rhythm. In the final section, I compare the four stories through the analysis of how walkers' capacities vary in different conditions understanding pedestrian experiences as part of 'force fields' (Gatt 2013, 355) (see section 2.5.4). This allows me to reflect about power relationships of everyday walking practices, which opens-up a way to envisage the micropolitics of walking in Santiago.

6.1 The Walkers' Bodily Capacities for Rhythm and Attention

Walkers build up a relationship with the spaces they walk through which involves 'bodily capacities for expression' and 'modes of attention' (Thomas 2004, 3). In this way, Thomas establishes two key dimensions for comprehending pedestrian practices: perceptive and expressive. While they are part of the same process, it is possible to consider attention as an element of perception and rhythm, of expression. Apart from allowing us to understand pedestrian practices, variations of rhythm and attention describe a pedestrian micropolitics which is a complex process of correspondences that determines how a person can walk in certain places. I want to emphasise once more that mine is not a deterministic approach. A constrictive situation affecting walkers' rhythm and attention will not imply automatically that the practice of that walker becomes distressful. In the same way, having the best socio-spatial conditions to walk does not guarantee a joyful and sustained practice of walking—in fact, in Santiago, the most ideal places to walk in wealthier neighbourhoods with wide sidewalks and beautiful trees are, paradoxically, the least walked. I show in the following stories how walking forms an ongoing dialogue that articulates the conditions of places, but also, personal subjectivities, will and intentions. Walkers' rhythm and attention are produced in that complex dialogue constantly responding to both external and internal situations.

Our rhythm and the direction of our attention are constitutive of the experience of walking since it consists in creating and sustaining a bodily rhythm which can only be accomplished attending to what is around us and in ourselves. The first one relates to the ongoing movement of the body through places and the second, to the openness to the world the walker performs. Both are part of the walkers' process of participating in places or becoming places. To walk in the city is to enter into force fields in which rhythm and attention are responsive to power relationships entangled in everyday practices. By tracing and comparing variations of walkers' rhythm and attention, we can appreciate how walkers' capacities for performing their walk differ when they go through different areas of the city. Thus, it produces a perspective on how urban inequality is experienced through walking.

I decided to work with these elements after realising that participants normally used them to describe their walks, even though they may not use these specific concepts. For example, Alejandro comments how he feels more in power of the situation when he can decide his pace and he does not need to worry about any threat:

[he is talking about walking in the centre of Santiago on Sundays mornings] The thing is that... yes, I can stop there and appreciate buildings' architecture; I can perceive the visual stimulus of the place and what the place produces in me. Eh... I do not have any other distraction. I can dedicate myself to appreciate [the place] in peace. When you walk through the city centre full of people, of course you are aware of somebody that could rob you, [you make sure] nobody can take anything from you. I do not know, you feel more vulnerable.

Alejandro made this reflection in one of our interview-workshop sessions. Other participants also talked in the interview-workshops about when and why they paced up or down; when they could pay attention to bird song, colours or to their own thoughts; when they could relax; or how fear made them rush away. Making sense of walkers' rhythm and attentiveness was not a decision I took from the outset of the fieldwork. I did not know

which aspects of the experience of walking would become relevant to explore it in relation to urban inequality. These two elements arose from the accumulation of experiences of walking with people and the stories they told me while walking, reviewing videos, tagging flags in the still-montages, crafting collages, and swapping walks. Attention and rhythm started to work in my field notes helping me to make sense of differences of walking in different areas of the city. They allowed me to describe what happened in walkers' bodies, and in my own body when walking through different places.

6.1.1 Rhythm: Walkers' Way of Expressing Places

I want to introduce my understanding of rhythm by recalling the moment I realised it was a key element for grasping differences and inequality in everyday walking practices in Santiago. I was walking with Juan Onofre and a friend of his heading to Juan Onofre's home after a class in the university. The walk took more than 2 and a half hours, crossing diverse neighbourhoods, going from a middle-income area (Ñuñoa) toward a low-income one, in the south of the city (San Ramón). An event happened approaching Juan Onofre's house. We were walking down a long residential street, lonely at that time around 1 a.m. We had already experienced a couple of worrying situations along the journey, so we were vigilant:²⁹

We are getting closer Juan Onofre's home. We approach a group of young men of around 15-20 years old. They are hanging out on the opposite side of the street. Once they perceive us, they do not stop staring at us. We have caught their attention. One of them slowly takes some steps in our direction, making clear that our presence there concerns them. We drop our conversation and we say a few words about the possible risks of this encounter. I recognise I am afraid. The young man's attitude is not neutral, it is directed

²⁹ To listen this section of the walk, please go to 'Night Walking Audios' and play 'Night Walking 1' in: <https://thesisappendices.wordpress.com/>

to us. He is communicating a limit: he walks slowly showing his territory. Maybe they feel threatened or curious about our presence there or—worst case scenario—they want to *tasarnos*, which means to see if it is worthy to mug us. We keep walking. Once we get close enough, we stop talking. Everything becomes very instinctive. The codes we interchange are gestures: a rhythmical battlefield takes place. Without saying a word, the three of us coordinate our rhythms forming a unity. We speed up as we march forward. We step heavily on the asphalt. It is as if we are together giving one unique step at a time. That way we invest our gait with confidence. It is our instinctive response facing a threat: not showing any vulnerability; not giving any chance for them to consider us feasible prey. Our rhythm is our protection. I feel my body infused with adrenaline: a kind of vertigo, trusting nothing will interrupt our trajectory. Juan Onofre breaks our silence telling a silly story at loud. We laugh loudly pretending to ignore their glances. In that way, we communicate to them they are not a threat to us. After passing them, a few meters ahead, we sustained this dialogue:

Friend: *I think that our rhythm stopped them: pa, pa, pa, pa!! [imitating our determined gait].*

Juan Onofre: *It was fantastic. Great!*

Friend: *Just like a formation [military]. It was cool, we sort of coordinated together and we started to walk just like that: pa, pa, pa, pa... like saying 'we are not alone, we are together'.*

I was aware of the importance of rhythm within my research mainly from a theoretical stance. I knew that to describe how people walk I should focus on their rhythms. I was also aware that people embody different rhythms responding to place characteristics and circumstances, attuning with 'place-rhythms' (Matos Wunderlich 2013). However, that night I gained an embodied awareness of how rhythm plays out while walking, specifically when power asymmetries and struggles become an issue during the performance of the walk. This event demonstrated that our rhythm does not respond in a deterministic way to the conditions of the path. We communicate creatively through rhythm; therefore, as

well as being a responsive phenomenon, rhythm also expresses walkers' agency: our pace changed because of the presence of this group of young men we interpreted as a threat considering the time, the place and their way of moving after realising our presence. In that sense, we responded rhythmically to the circumstances. We chose to express with our pace that we were not afraid. Without saying a word, we synchronized. We used the speed and the determination of our gait to cocoon in our rhythm, expressing we were together. It was a creative collective response expressing our intended version of what was going on: we were not frightened, neither were we interested in establishing any further interaction with them.

Walking is inherently rhythmic. Alejandro, for example, did not consider he is 'walking' until engaging in a determined rhythm which implies a transformation of his bodily sensations, of his sense of time and distance and of his attention towards himself and towards the world. To fall into that rhythm, he needs to go a certain distance for a certain amount of time. Walking means for him to be transformed by rhythm. These ideas link with Lefebvre's understanding of rhythm: the essential aspect of rhythm is not the repetition but the difference that it entails (Lefebvre 2013, 16). The repetition opens a possibility for transformation in which each step is different to the previous since they 'are informed by a responsiveness that enables walking to "carry on"' (Edensor 2010, 73). These ideas of walking responsiveness matches with Ingold's (2011, 60) view that rhythm 'is not a movement but a dynamic coupling of movements'. Then, rhythm emerges from a relationship of correspondence between ongoing movements. When somebody walks, each repetition of those bodily movements is different because at each new step the body resonates with what is happening inside and outside.

As much as to be responsive and relational, the story I tell highlights the subjective expressive aspect of rhythm that has not been much explored in studies about walking in

cities, which have been concerned mainly with grasping place rhythms (see Matos Wunderlich 2008) following the legacy of Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis project. Thus, research has focused largely on the expressiveness of places considering the multiple rhythms that they comprise.

We learn from Lefebvre (2013, 25) that rhythm occurs through the interplay of place and time: 'everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm'. Rhythm is not a thing with a substance, but an interaction. Lefebvre focuses on investigating the orchestration of rhythms in urban spaces, 'internal and social' which constitute 'the rhythmized organization of everyday time' (84). This is his well-known project of rhythmanalysis consisting in 'a kind of phenomenological-hermeneutic description of the relationship among the body, its rhythms and its surrounding space' (Simonsen 2005, 8). The focus is directed, as Derek McCormack (2013, 41) explains, towards grasping 'spacetimes in which bodies participate' using 'rhythm as a corporeal and conceptual nexus'. McCormack also indicates that according to Lefebvre, 'rhythm provides a way of thinking the everyday as dynamic, processual, and relational' (6). Being produced through the interrelation of movements of beings and things, attending to rhythm is a useful tool for grasping the complex interactions between bodies and their situations in the fabric of everyday life. That is something I learnt through my body that night walking with Juan Onofre and his friend.

Moreover, walkers' rhythm tells us about everyday walking's micropolitics because it is responsive to power transitions in lived experiences defining who can move where and how. When we walk we participate in places through rhythm. Walkers' rhythms vary attuning with the ongoing processes places are and with what is happening. Places configure force fields in which walkers participate. Those forces may be constituted by other's gestures and actions or by more structural conditions such as the unequal

distribution of economic resources across the city which impact on social situations, maintenance, and facilities of places, among other things. Edensor (2010, 73) says that 'walking rhythms are continuously adapting to circumstances'; therefore, they are a way of knowing those conditions and how they inform pedestrian experiences of place. I describe, in the next four stories, some of the rhythms people enact on their journeys on foot to make sense of how socio-economic inequality is embodied in the lived experience of walking. In other words, how walkers' rhythms respond to places' conditions.

Rhythmical relation between walkers' bodies, places, and everyday life has been researched in geography through the analysis of artistic works (Edensor 2010); using ethnographical observations and video-recording for long periods of time (Matos Wunderlich 2008); resorting to research participants' diaries and in depth-interviews (Middleton 2009), among others. From anthropology, Vergunst (2010) has explored rhythms through ethnography which consisted in taking part in walkers' rhythms by sharing their walks. Using diverse methodological approaches, these works show how places are rhythmical arrangements of activities in which the rhythmical activity of the walker takes part.

They emphasise different aspects of walking rhythms. Edensor (2010, 69) considers them by looking at 'regulations of embodied rhythms', but at the same time, the subjective attunements of the body. Within her investigation on place-temporalities, Matos Wunderlich conceives rhythms of everyday walking as a part of 'expressive bundles of rhythms which give a place its temporal distinctiveness' (2008, 125). She also analyses what types of walking are produced from different bodily rhythmicities in the city (Matos Wunderlich 2008). With Middleton (2009, 1956), the focus goes into the subjective experience of the walker. She resorts to ideas of rhythm to make sense of walkers' interrelations with time and space. Finally, Vergunst (2010, 386) thinks about urban life

‘through body, gesture, and rhythm’, which he argues permits us to get closer to walkers’ experiences and to understand that ‘it is the sensing of rhythms in the street (be they coherent or chaotic) that enables it to be understood as a place, and indeed form it as place’ (378).

Resounding with these works, I consider that walkers participate in the places through a rhythmical dialogue with the materials and other bodies they encounter. Their rhythms emerge expressing the singular qualities of this bodily participation. My descriptions of rhythms, therefore, are centred on walkers’ bodies. I look to make sense of a distribution of subjective power in walking situations that enable or constrain walkers’ practices in relation with urban inequality. In that sense, it complements the perspective of these previous works by adding power to the analysis, aiming to account for the micropolitics that emerges in pedestrian situations. Regarding my methodological approach, it also contributes detailed descriptions based on the triangulation of participation in walking experiences through ethnography, video-recordings and participants’ own reflections produced along the different activities of the fieldwork.

6.1.2 Attention: Walkers’ Bodies Stretching towards Places

It would be so nice to come here and to read a book while my son plays. I would be happy and my son would be happy too, running without worrying. There [in her neighbourhood] ... I do not know, sometimes they start fighting and the kids are playing [on the square]. If gunshots are heard everybody comes out running to get their children in.

(Trinidad, swapping walk in a middle-income neighbourhood)

I want to continue by narrating the moment I thought attention was crucial to describe a micropolitics of walking and to make sense of how inequality is experienced by people. We were with Trinidad walking another participant’s route in a high middle-income *comuna*. She commented with enthusiasm about the relaxation she felt walking there. She

imagined herself living in an area such as this, not because she hated the place she lived, but because the ambience she perceived, walking through this middle-income neighbourhood, lead her to imagine possible activities she normally could not imagine in her own neighbourhood. The advantage—privilege—she perceived was related to understanding that her attention could wander in a freer way, expanding the possibilities she could envisage for inhabiting the place.

The concept of affordance (Gibson 1979, Ingold 2000) helps to explain the difference between walking in this neighbourhood or hers. Trinidad's perception of the environment implies 'to perceive what it *affords*' (Ingold, 2000, 166) to her, which means the opportunities she perceives for acting there. In other words, the power or agency she has within the place. By walking in this middle-income area she finds possibilities for stopping and enjoying spaces in ways she normally cannot. Her comment compares the opportunities of the environment, or affordances, she normally perceives in her quotidian journeys with these new ones. The differences in opportunities she highlights are related to her enjoying herself outside the house in a relaxed way. While she was describing these feelings, I noticed her shoulders coming down, as if they were losing tension. It seemed to me as if her body was being taken off a force field and put into a different one that reacted differently on her. She was being part of a different situation, with a different micropolitics, and her body was expressing it. This lighter sensation implied the possibility for her to attend to things she enjoys instead of to safety aspects: avoiding places, or simply feeling the expectation that something distressful can happen.

The expectations emerging from the things and situations she could attend to, made her imagine new possibilities for inhabiting the place. She did not feel threatening presences. On the contrary, she felt mostly welcomed by the greenery and the peace of the square we were crossing at that time in the morning. It does not mean that in this neighbourhood

there are not things to worry about. We were walking there during a weekday at 11 in the morning: with low traffic and a calm ambience. We were also unaware of stories of troubling events that may have taken place there. However, I observed a relaxed attitude was also embodied by Antonio, whose walk we were recreating. Therefore, Trinidad and Antonio with different subjective identities agreed on the sensation of relaxation this place affords to walkers. Not feeling insecurity expanded the opportunities Trinidad imagined for performing the practice: she could stop, sit down and talk, read a book or bring her kid to play here. What was different? Trinidad also has access to green squares around her neighbourhood, but here her bodily state was completely different to that which I observed previously when walking with her in her neighbourhood. I argue that these good sensations can be accounted for by resorting to the way she was attending to the environment here: she was not worried, she could attend to different things, thus follow her will more.

We normally say attention can be given, paid or directed; we also say it can be dragged, called, caught or attracted. Either our will is to focus on someone or something, or someone or something has the power to attract our interest. In both situations the act of attending puts us in a relation with what is around us. The fact that it can be directed or dragged shows how those relationships constitute and are enmeshed in force fields in which the power to attract and the power to attend come into play (Gatt 2013). The Latin root of the verb 'to attend', *attendere*, means 'to stretch'. This is concordant with Adolf Schutz's [1970, 316; quoted by Csordas, 1993, 138] explanations of attending, which he describes as a 'consciously turning toward an object'. In a way, when we attend to something we stretch ourselves towards it. Doing that we select a direction and a hierarchy takes shape: when we pay attention to certain things, beings, or situations—or our attention is dragged to them—other things, beings, and situations are left less attended, as Gatt (2013) shows with her notion of 'direction of attention'.

Psychologists Eleanor Gibson and Nancy Rader (1979) assert that ‘the term *attention* is unfortunately susceptible to reification’. They prefer using the verb ‘attending’ instead of talking about the noun attention, which gives the idea of a physical entity or an isolated capacity. That way they highlight attention as an action: people do attend. They conceive attention as part of the process of perception that occurs when people aim for accomplishing a task: ‘*attention* refers to bringing our perception in line with our task, of picking up more or less efficiently the information necessary to perform some task. Expectations motivate and affect our attentive behavior’ (13). Therefore, Gibson and Rader relate attending to doing something and, in that sense, they conceive the person who attends as a performer. These ideas concur with neuroscientists’ understanding of attention nowadays as a process that allows us to select information from what we perceive as ‘focus[ing] neural processing in service of current goals and requirements’ (Norbre and Rohenkohl 2014, 1).

For example, when Trinidad walks in this middle-income neighbourhood, her perception is directed towards its tranquility. Paying attention to that ambience triggers in her imaginations of being there with her son performing tasks such as reading a book or watching her son playing. Not only this is necessary for the place to be perceived as tranquil, it is also necessary that Trinidad can attend to that quality of the ambience with a task or goal in her will. If something more urgent had caught her attention, such as the expectation of a problematic situation, the calm of the place would have remained less noticed or meaningless and it would not have triggered imaginations of possibilities for performing the place differently; her goal would have changed to staying safe. That means that the way we attend to things expresses our projects, needs, expectations, etc.

More than extracting information, attending is about attuning with what is around us while doing our tasks, which produces an emergent dialogue that transforms us. It is in that process of attending to things and beings that we learn the world, which creates paths for possible tasks or practices within the world. To accomplish the task of walking we need to pay attention to what is around, and the same everyday process of walking opens ways for attending—stretching—to the world. For example, if Trinidad were to continue walking that same route again and again, she would start to consider things she could not at first or she would judge more accurately other impressions she had. Likewise, she might start to pay less attention to those aspects of the route that she had already learnt. Maybe she would know which stretches of the route are more relaxing, which way to take when she is in a hurry, or when strolling with her kid. She would learn her preferred time of the day to go out with her kid (assessing both her routine and the place activities), and she would also know when it is better to avoid some places. She would start to play with the force fields she is in when walking there, building a sense of what she can or cannot do while walking.

Paying attention while walking can be enacted in different ways. Mara (middle-income), for example, tries to be attentive during her everyday journeys by ‘becoming aware of the other sentient beings’ with whom she lives. Whereas for Alejandro (high-income), walking to the bus stop or to the grocery shop are just functional walks and he does not pay much attention to what is on his way. In both cases walking requires being attentive to the environment, but they perform it differently. Thomas (2007, 20) says that to be attentive ‘is one of the main features of walking in the city’ since it puts dwellers ‘in a situation of co-presence that force them to negotiate their actions’. Similarly, Jan Masschelein (2010, 277) understands walking as a practice that it is ‘about being or getting attentive or to expose oneself’. He states that walking is to lack position and, therefore, it allows us to be present and to be open to the world and he defines attentiveness as ‘a state of mind which

opens up to the world in a way that it can present itself to me (that I can 'come' to see) and that I can be transformed'. Therefore, walking is essentially an attentive and transformative practice.

Some participants enjoy the exposition and possibility of being attentive that walking offers, such as Mara and Juan Onofre who talk about walking—everyday walking—as an adventure. Most of those participants who enjoy being in contact with places' diversity live and move through middle-income neighbourhoods. Others, such as Alejandro, feel nervous about that exposition and the lack of control over what you will encounter on the street. Many of these participants live in high-income areas. In the case of those living in low-income areas, most of them enjoy walking and enjoy the openness; however, they need to deal with the fact that sometimes, what they are exposed to on their everyday walks, can be more harmful than what you are exposed in other wealthier areas of the city.

6.2 Stories on Attention and Rhythm

The stories I tell in this section explore walkers' responsiveness to socio-spatial conditions by means of their performance of rhythm and attention. Examining walkers' experiences in detail through ethnographic fieldwork led me to acknowledge that variations of rhythm and attention are expressive of what happens in pedestrian experiences—in pedestrians' bodies—in contexts of urban inequality. In the previous two chapters I have shown that walkers' experiences are enabled or constrained, among other things, by the materials they encounter and the affectivities that emerge on their journeys. Experiencing enabling or constraining materials and affectivities impact the way walkers relate with the environment, affecting walkers' rhythms and the direction of their attention, which I explore now. The following four stories show how rhythm and attention vary making visible a micropolitics of gestures within which walkers perform their practices, negotiating their agency and places' affordances.

6.2.1 Story One: Night Walk Crossing Neighbourhoods

On the same occasion when walking with Juan Onofre and his friend at night, another event took place that shows how rhythm and attention vary expressing the negotiations that configure the micropolitics of walking (see section 6.1.1).

I wait for Juan Onofre and a friend at the University of Chile Campus in the *comuna* of Ñuñoa. It is around 10 p.m., a slightly cold spring night. We start our journey in a good mood. As usual, they stop by the liqueur store and buy a couple of beers to drink along the way while talking a little bit of this and that. The conversation jumps from one idea to the other. The path itself meddles in the conversation: we talk about the houses with big front gardens we see along the way, they emphasise the stillness of the street and the sense of safety it transmits. From time to time they stop to take a picture of a shadow, a cat, a graffiti. Although we walk at a steady pace since we need to cover twelve kilometers' distance, we go placidly. We perceive a sign of change when we leave the *comuna* of Ñuñoa and we enter the *comuna* of San Joaquín. We leave the upper middle-income area and we enter a more middle-income area, which is next to large infrastructures such as big avenues, a metro station and railways. Streets are less green and we walk through solitary spaces that do not feel that peaceful anymore: spaces showing less maintenance, messy graffiti on walls and big warehouses break our sense of safety. A breeze of oddness hangs in the air. Facing this new panorama our walk changes: Juan Onofre stops and asks if we feel comfortable enough to keep walking. He verbalises a kind of alertness I have already felt in my body. We negotiate our feelings and imaginations about the place and whether we want to be part of this new place arrangement we perceive through the qualities of the materials we are encountering and our new affective state.

Our rhythm is disrupted by the uneasiness dragging our attention. Until that moment our rhythm and attention jumped and varied quite freely. We stopped at will to appreciate a house or a cat. Now our rhythm (in stopping) expresses a change in place and we direct our attention to evaluate the safety of the journey ahead. We need to take a decision: whether to keep walking or not. We value possibilities for our practice constrained by the material and affective resonances of this place that does not seem to ensure safety. Our capacity for acting is not totally constrained, we can choose to keep walking or not. Juan Onofre encourages us to go along: he has walked there before and nothing bad has happened to him. We trust those words and as our path comes again into a residential zone, we take our rhythm and attention back.

After twenty minutes we reach a new limit: we need to cross a canal, a big avenue that runs alongside the canal and a line of power towers. This is a geographic and infrastructural brake on the urban tissue. Zanjón de la Aguada canal is a limit due to both social and morphological factors. Geographically this canal runs through the lower areas of the city; it collects a great quantity of rainwater which makes the canal basin an inundation zone (the canal does not overflow anymore, as it was common in wintertime, thanks to the infrastructural work that has been done during the last decades). An old-line train (that does not work anymore) ran alongside the canal and tells us about the history of the place. Numerous industries were (and still are) located there too, in what was known as *cinturón de hierro*.³⁰ During the first half of the twentieth century, it worked as a limit within the city dividing the central area from the south—and poorer—periphery. The canal bank attracted numerous people coming from rural areas that did not find a place to live in the city. They installed squatter settlements that were frequently inundated by the canal's rises. Currently, the urban sprawl has largely exceeded this limit; however,

³⁰ Iron beltway: '[late 19th century] It was the landscape shaped by the railways that encircled Santiago and by the industries located around the railways. All of this infrastructure formed what researchers have called the "iron beltway"'. See *memoriadechile* website (BCN): <http://www.memoriachilena.cl/602/w3-article-92318.html>

due to its morphological characteristics and the industrial use of the area, it still represents a limit within the city. Crossing it from north to south means to pass from a middle-income neighbourhood to a lower middle-income and low-income zone.



Figure 6.1 Zanjón de la Aguada Canal, two perspectives: September and December 2017. Source: Juan Onofre; used with his permission.

We cross the canal heading towards *La Legua Emergencia*, a neighbourhood famous for stories about drug trafficking and criminality. We need to go around it. We walk through a lonely avenue full of factories. The street seems to have been recently renovated: it has

green grass on road verges, wide sidewalks, and the pavement is in good condition; it has a bicycle path and it is well lit. Still, walking here feels odd at this time of the night (midnight), and probably at any time of the day because there are only factories, big fenced gates, trucks and probably few people walking in the street. A big bottling company is working. One of its gates is open and we can see a huge empty yard inside and, far away, some light and people working in a warehouse. One solitary cyclist passes. A couple of men appear from one street that heads south onto *La Legua Emergencia*. They turn the corner and walk just a few metres ahead of us. I perceived they saw us when they turned. They walk slowly like they are taking a stroll in the middle of the night on this street that has no more than big fenced gates. It raises my suspicions. I get scared. That walk we were enjoying is left behind and my attention is directed exclusively to the gestures of these two men. Seconds later, Juan Onofre's friend expresses some concern about them and even Juan Onofre, the more confident among us, shows some alertness.

Our attention, conversation, and rhythm resound with the encounter with these two men. We lose the track of attention and rhythm we had carried on until that moment. Juan Onofre tries calming us down: *'Here, the only thing we can do is to walk with great... with decision. Do not hesitate at all. I think that if those guys notice you are hesitating, you are screwed-up!'*. Another dilemma: we wonder if we should pass them or keep walking behind. Their pace is too slow and we have no alternative. We stop talking and we secure our gait. Once we overtake them, I feel an odd sensation running through my back, as if waiting to be knocked by something. A few steps ahead we hear the younger man shouting at us: *'Cabros! Do you have any cigarette to sell?'*.³¹ His voice triggers a bunch of sensations. I feel the adrenaline. I keep walking in silence. I do not look back, I do not want to make eye contact with them. In a rare way, I feel that my male friends should deal with those men there. Without any of us saying anything, Juan Onofre's friend turns and replies that

³¹ *Cabros*: a colloquial way to say 'buddies', 'fellows'.

he has run out of cigarettes. Immediately Juan Onofre also turns saying that he is really sorry but he does not smoke. He offers them the beer he has left, instead. They accept it with a gesture. I had slowed down my pace and turned back slightly, always avoiding looking into their eyes. Everything happens in a blink of an eye. Then Juan Onofre told us that when he gave them the beer he excused himself again for not smoking and the older man said to him: ‘do not worry, buddy’, which Juan Onofre interpreted as ‘*vaya tranquilo*’ (the translation in English would be: ‘no worries, keep going’), as if they were conceding us permission to go ahead thanks to the exchange we had.³²

Juan Onofre reflected about how much we fear people. If we were or were not at real risk, we will never know. Our thinking is that there was probably no prior intention but everything depended on our response to their request. A pure affective interchange in which rhythms are means of expression. If they had sensed anything that had driven them to act in a more threatening way, they might have done it. From there on, we were alert to the few other encounters we had with people on our journey. Our attention was limited by the worry that something could happen, so we were constantly reading signals of risk along the way and negotiating among us what we considered too risky: to take or not a street if it was too dark or assessing the intentions of the people we encountered.

Yet, we still could perform—in a more limited way—relaxed walking and talking. They even stopped to take pictures. That is one of the riches of walking, it is open to a subjective agency and a constant change. Rarely does one fact command the whole experience along the whole journey. However, the background of our experience changed. We talked mostly about fear, past experiences of assaults, etc. I sensed how relaxed moments after this encounter were not enacted in the same way. Joy in the middle-income area was

³² To listen this section of the walk, please go to ‘Night Walking Audios’ and play ‘Night Walking 2’ in: <https://thesisappendices.wordpress.com/>

differently experienced compared to this low-income area, even by the same walkers on the same journey.

6.2.2 Story Two: Women Walking and Smoking



Figure 6.2 Still-montage from video footage: walking and smoking with Trinidad, December 2015.

It is the beginning of December. Once again I feel nervous before going to this neighbourhood. My worries are relieved a bit when I ring the bell and Trinidad opens the door smiling. The ghosts of the stories I have heard about these low-income areas of the city, sensationally represented by the news, fade when I see Trinidad's smile. Today we walk together to the church. It is quarter past eight in the evening. I was advised not to come to this neighbourhood too early or too late, but I decided to come anyway because it is almost summer and there is daylight until late. I also trust Trinidad, if she invited me to come, then I should be fine. Trinidad takes two cigarettes she had prepared on the dining table and with a glance of complicity she offers me one. I accept it, even though I

quit smoking some time ago. I feel there is something in that experience of walking and smoking that I should be part of. We leave her apartment, we light the cigarettes and start walking. It is a wonderful warm spring evening, I was so entangled in my worries I hadn't noticed it before. The light of the sun reflects on poplars' treetops as it goes down, birds sing, the sky is deeply blue. It is the first time I feel relaxed walking here. Trinidad was relaxed, too. I feel that through the cigarette and by inviting me to smoke she offered me a sensory pathway to participate within the place in this new manner. The cigarette and her pace offered me a new capacity to walk through this neighbourhood: my practice was enabled by the cigarette's material qualities, her rhythm and the feelings she transmitted to me. Our attention jumped freely: we could talk about the beautiful sunset light and then, about her son. We enacted a rhythm that allowed us to be part of the place and perceive it in joyful ways. The place was the same as always. For example, some guys were standing on the corners watching everything. I even took some precautions, as always: I hid my camera when we passed near the guys or when we stopped in the little shop to buy some mint sweets.³³ However, while I was still paying attention to these guys, I did it from a different affective state: I was not afraid. Overall, I felt an expansion of my possibilities to act and shape my pedestrian experience: my agency had grown.

I link cigarettes with relaxing feelings. That could explain the change in my way of experiencing the walk. However, Trinidad was more relaxed too, enjoying our short walk to the church, so what happened that day was beyond my personal emotions. In this moment, I shared Trinidad's unique experience of intimacy and relaxation she highly values when walking alone. I think the cigarettes gave us the power to claim the space, to enact the rhythm and attention we felt like, expressing we were walking there comfortably. Therefore, the material of the cigarette together with the meanings of 'women smoking',

³³ One of moments when I hid my camera can be appreciated in the still-montage at the beginning of the story. It is the one that focuses a face from below.

changed the way we affected and were affected by the place. We affected the place differently expressing a particular rhythm: a relaxed one. And because we lived the place through this rhythm, claiming it as a place we could enjoy, we were affected differently. We opened ourselves to the place in a stress-free way, which means our attention could flow more spontaneously. Something bad could have happened anyway and the cigarettes and our rhythm would not have protected us in the end. But for a moment they did. The cigarettes and our pace protected me from my own imaginations of that place. They also protected Trinidad from being stopped by people to talk (walking with me may have helped too). I remember that afternoon as one of the most joyful times I had in the fieldwork.

During our interview-workshop sessions, Trinidad told me that within her everyday walking, the one to the church is different. I was asking her if she considered the practice of walking a resource in her everyday life and whether she could get something positive out of it. She answered:

For relaxing, yes. But here... [she refers to her own neighbourhood; she makes a gesture as if something displeases her]. Out of here I can relax, but I walk here basically because I have to . . . but for relaxing... when I walk to the church, there it is more relaxed, there are not so many people walking and there are more trees [on the way].

6.2.3 Story Three: Kids Learning the City

It is around 7 p.m. I ring the bell at Fernanda's mother's house—a big two-story house—where Fernanda lives with her two kids in the *comuna* of Ñuñoa. It is one of the first warm evenings at the beginning of September, in the last days of the winter. They go out of the house immediately, ready to stroll to *Plaza Ñuñoa* [Ñuñoa Square], which is the heart of this middle-income area. It serves as a meeting point for young undergraduates, parents with their kids, old people. It is surrounded by a couple of old famous diners, a big church

and the municipality building. It is crossed by one of the main avenues of the *comuna*, a commercial street which connects it with the city centre and with the eastern *comunas*. It is a vibrant area. Fernanda loves this square. It is part of her personal history, as she used to go there when she was an adolescent—she has lived nearby since she was very young—and even now it is a place she would normally go to meet friends in some restaurant. She also normally attends municipal activities that take place in the square. She has decided to keep living in this area where she grew up partly because of this possibility of going out and reaching places by foot without needing to take the car. Otherwise, she says, they would be more ‘enclosed’ in the house. The possibility of walking to nice places widens her vital space, which is not confined to her house as she feels familiarity and safety in the surrounding places. The opportunities places around her afford increase her options to do things with her kids, enriching her everyday life. She acknowledges that everything is not perfect, but she feels safe enough and she has a strong will to make the most out of the places around.

It is a short ten minutes’ walk to the square. The plan is to spend some time there, so the kids can play, and then they will have dinner in one of the classic diners next to the square. Even while this is a high traffic hour and the noise of vehicles is pervasive, we walk calmly focused mainly on the kids. It is a residential street of big houses, some apartment buildings and a couple of schools. There are trees on sidewalks and green grass, not in the best conditions of maintenance, but they give the street a nice ambience and amid the sound of the motors I can hear birds. Corners are crucial moments within the journey. Fernanda takes the hand of her younger son and repeats that they need to wait for the green light and look both ways. There are people walking on the street, as it connects two big avenues. We talk freely about their weekly routine, the houses around and Fernanda talks with the kids. I only felt a little annoyed by the times we got our rhythm interrupted by cars entering house garages or apartments buildings parking (it is the time people go

back home). I was worried about the kids, but Fernanda was not. Instead she felt those were moments of respectful negotiation between us and the cars. She said that *'there was consciousness and carefulness'*.

Once we get to the square the kids are free to run. We sat and talked while observing them in the playground. We talk about the nice and problematical things of the square and about our memories of the place (I grew up near here too). The kids come from time to time to say something to their mother and run to the playground again. It gets dark: the blue of the sky is more and more intense and the street lights start to shine. One of the kids comes saying he is hungry. We start to walk toward the restaurant. We walk slowly, strolling, the kids running around. After watching the video of this walk in one of our interview-workshop sessions, Fernanda summarises her journey pointing to a map describing:

'Here it is tranquility, safety [the street that goes to the square];



Figure 6.3 Video-still: Fernanda with her kids waiting for green light on their way to Plaza Ñuñoa, September 2015.

and here it is freedom, freedom to run around.



Figure 6.4 Video-still: Fernanda with her kids in Plaza Ñuñoa, September 2015.

And the square, here... this zone would be like, I do not know, like showing to them [kids] the lifestyle of sitting and having a conversation and whiling away the time talking and talking... like a bohemian [lifestyle] . . . And the rhythm of non-technology. Here: the people, the real life’.



Figure 6.5 Video-still: Fernanda and her kids going to the dinner, September 2015.

6.2.4 Story Four: Walking the Dog at Lunchtime

Getting to Felipe's office in the *comuna* of Lo Barnechea from the city centre takes more than the hour and twenty minutes I had anticipated. Instead of combining metro and bus, I need to get a taxi to arrive in time for Felipe's lunch break at 2 p.m. We get into his car and he drives to his home. Some days of the week he eats there and takes his dog for a little walk. I will walk with them. Sometimes he just goes down and leaves the dog running free within the backyard of the complex of buildings where he lives. On this occasion, we walk the dog to the commercial centre where, this time, he will have lunch. We cross the big and green backyard to reach the exit. The place is surrounded by hills. We are at the outskirts of the city on the north-east side, close to the mountains, in one of the highest parts of the city.

We go out to the street. Sometimes he chooses to walk up the hill with his dog, but he normally does it on the weekends together with his wife, strolling after lunch. On the street there is green grass and trees on sidewalks. It is clean. There is nobody walking there. We hear from time to time a bunch of cars passing, probably they race together after a red light. It is autumn and some trees give orange and red tonalities to our journey. We stop constantly following the dog's rhythm. This is the dog's moment, it leads the rhythm and we correspond with it. Felipe carries some plastic bags to pick up the dog's waste.



Figure 6.6 Video-still: Felipe walking his dog, April 2016.

After five minutes walking we still do not pass a single soul, only cars on the road. We have been talking freely about animals: dogs and cats. There is no particular concern about anything along the way, we just keep walking. We alternate the rhythm following the dog or speeding up a little, taking control over it. On reaching the main street there is still nobody around, but more cars: cars on the road and cars parked next to sidewalks. We find the first person on our route: a municipal worker, a gardener who is sweeping tree leaves. The main street is mostly a commercial and services street. It is common to see big bollards of concrete outside the stores, between the sidewalk and the parking area to avoid ram-raiding robberies. We keep walking. Our talk jumps from one thing to the other: from talking about our lives to commenting on what we encounter on our way, mainly buildings: the bank, the dog grooming saloon, the pharmacy and the supermarket. He acknowledges how the constant traffic noise of the main street makes it hard to maintain a conversation. It changes the atmosphere of our walk compared to the street we were going through before. We also hear the noise coming from a construction site. Overall, we maintain a calmed rhythm and nothing really takes our attention away. Noise could be annoying, but nothing extreme we cannot cope with. It is only when we reach the

commercial centre that we encounter people walking, going from the car parking to the stores and restaurants. We get to the place where Felipe will have lunch. There are terraces with tables where people are sitting and eating. The traffic noise fades away slightly as the terrace is apart from the street and has plenty of vegetation in between, there is a little waterway crossing. Music is coming from the restaurants and we choose our table. Felipe secures the dog's leash while the dog places itself at his feet. Everything in this experience occurs as expected. The only eventful moment is when Felipe bumps into a friend at the commercial centre. Nothing greatly disrupts our attention and rhythm. It is a placid walk. Even time is not an issue because he works close-by and, besides, he has a certain freedom: now and then he can arrive 10 or 15 minutes late without any problem.

6.3 Walking in Force Fields: Comparing Variations of Attention and Rhythm

As these stories show, people walk under different conditions in Santiago. This is not surprising considering that places are singular entanglements of trajectories (see section 2.3). However, many differences among places in Santiago are linked to the socio-economic conditions of the people that live there; in a way, they experience the city they can pay for. Comparing these stories, focusing on walkers' rhythms and attention variations, opens a door to envisage power relationships that play out while walking in everyday life and to what extent they are place specific.

In the case of Juan Onofre walking at night, it demonstrates how materials and affectivities interplay constituting the experience of walking and how walkers' rhythms and attention correspond to the conditions and encounters on the way. This story shows how the same person's experience on the same journey may vary moving from one place in the city to another, which indicates to what extent experiences are place specific. Particular power relationships may occur in certain place conditions. The way we performed the walk at the beginning, talking of whatever came to mind, with Juan Onofre and his friend drinking

beer, stopping to appreciate houses, was not the same after crossing the urban limit of Zanjón de la Aguada canal and after encountering those men. Our attention kept assessing risks along the way after that. We walked even faster to reach our destination sooner. Our rhythm and attention were constrained: the sense of safety and continuity that sustained our playful engagement with places until there, diminished. Also, the materials no longer spoke to us about places somebody was taking care of: there was less greenery, long façades of industries and warehouses which were not welcoming to walkers. Those material qualities communicated to us that those stretches of the journey were ‘nobody’s land’, as I described in chapter 4.

The context of materials plus the emerging affectivities and the events that took place, transformed our capacities for performing our walk. The possibilities were restricted, diminishing our chances for making the most of our pedestrian experience. For example, we started to evaluate the stretches ahead, how much was left in order to arrive at Juan Onofre’s home, if it was better to take a bus instead of keeping walking. These worries did not appear when we had been walking in the middle-income neighbourhood just one hour before. Our walk was pushed to become more like a means of transport: to get to our destination faster. However, we negotiated those constraints. We responded to them from our agency: even walking with more vigilance, from time to time we joked about our fear, and we also laughed about things on the way. We still could walk ‘*dying with laughter*’, as Juan Onofre says to illustrate good experiences of walking.

Trinidad’s story also shows walkers’ agency in negotiating walking micropolitics. Even while conditions may push the walk to be only a means of transport, her agency invests her paces. She takes advantage of her journey to the church. She transforms this journey into a relaxing intimate moment she starts to experience from the instant she prepares to go out in the house, before even starting the physical gesture of walking. That was made

clear by the cigarettes she had prepared. She takes her cigarette to perform her walk in a relaxed way, even when she acknowledges that, normally, walking in her neighbourhood is not relaxing by itself. Nevertheless, she can enjoy it in spite of the effort that is needed to transform the experience. That is the key thing, to walk in a relaxed rhythm performing with an open attention to the journey or towards oneself—which is taken-for-granted in high/middle-income neighbourhoods—asks for extra effort here. Though, it is possible: the walker has the power of the tactic, as de Certeau showed us, to subvert urban conditions to a certain extent.

This story also shows how the destination of the walk influences the micropolitics at play. Going to the church expands Trinidad's capacity to act within the place. What does it change? The route to the church is the same she walks every day for other purposes. However, when she goes to the church something in the atmosphere changes and she experiences the place differently. Her rhythm relaxes and her attention goes toward herself: she enacts an intimate moment. Probably more than one neighbour stops to talk to her, but she is going to the church, which is relaxing for her because it is a place and time for herself. It seems as if the affective relationship she has with the church transmits to her way there, to her steps.

In the case of Fernanda, her walk is a recreational journey to take her kids out after school so they walk calmly. The most challenging situation she needs to take care of is cars going in and out the houses and street crossings. Our rhythm and attention are performed freely. We do not need to rush; nothing stops us; neither do we need to make an effort to enjoy the walk. The capacity for performing the walk more or less at will is afforded by the place. Our conversation flowed from talking with the kids to talking between us. We walked through a vibrant and diverse area too. This is one of the main reasons Fernanda takes her kids to *Plaza Nuñoa* both to play in the park but she also wants them to learn that there is

a life out there, beyond the screens that fascinate the kids. She wants them to get in touch with the lifestyle of people talking and sharing time together, so she takes them to walk around. She has this possibility, a possibility Trinidad regrets not having when we swapped walks and she went to walk in this area: she could not just take her kid out to be part of the place around her. On Fernanda's journey, her open attitude and her willingness to enjoy is supported by the place. Trinidad, instead, needs to put more effort into resisting the constraints of the place. However, it does not mean there is nothing threatening in Fernanda's neighbourhood. This is a central area of the *comuna* that attracts the movement of diverse people from different parts of the city. She mentioned more than once things that may happen that she needs to be aware of, such as drunk men or finding pieces of glass on the playground where the kids play. However, it was not a big deal for her. That vibrancy implies a grade of uncertainty, and it is what she expects to experience when walking in that area, in that square, and it is part of the life she wants to teach her kids.

Finally, Felipe's journey shows a kind of 'purposive walk' (Matos Wunderlich 2008), as he needs to walk the dog. However, he chooses when and how the walk will be. The purposive walk was really strolling as it was relaxed from the beginning to the end. The rhythm was a sort of dialogue between our bodies and the dog's body. Our conversation jumped freely between asking things about each other or commenting on the place we were walking through. We did not have any worry about anything along the way that could have exerted any opposition to our will. Different from Trinidad's case, the journey asks very little from Felipe to being able to forge a situation in which he can pay attention to what he wants and enacting the rhythm he feels like. The only negotiations he needs to make are related to the urban system. He needed to adapt to the rhythms of the traffic lights, to the traffic noise, to the routes the urban grid offered to him and to the aesthetics of some buildings he mentioned he dislikes (he is an architect). However, there is general sense of safety and

continuity. The place seems to be cared for (there was a municipal gardener working) and it seems welcoming. This enables our walk: we could pay attention to what we wanted and embody the rhythm we could negotiate with the dog and the streets.

Everything happens in a controlled way. That was a unique sensation I got from walking in this area: everything occurs as expected. Comparing the four experiences, in terms of how a pedestrian micropolitics unfolds during these walks, there is an increasing trend from less controlled and more exposed experiences in low-income neighbourhoods—in the case of Trinidad’s neighbourhood or approaching Juan Onofre’s home—to more controlled and less exposed experiences in high-income neighbourhoods. However, this trend does not mean that high-income neighbourhoods are always and for everyone better places to walk compared to low-income areas. Trinidad’s experience and her agency to craft a relaxed journey show that walkers do not respond only to socio-spatial conditions: subjective agency is key as well. Fernanda’s experience of walking in a middle-income area shows as well how some diversity and uncertainty may serve to embody places in a joyful way and to transform a walk into a way of participating in urban life. Indeed, as I showed in chapter 5, people living and walking through middle-income areas, normally have more diverse and heterogeneous walking practices. Therefore, control in walkers’ experiences is important in providing the sense of safety and continuity that open opportunities to perform walks at will, but not to the point that it suppresses vibrancy and diversity.

Addressing walking micropolitics through the description of walkers’ variations of attention and rhythm advances the discussion around power and everyday urban practices by considering together different scales of analysis: the micro level of the lived experience and the macro level of urban space. This discussion has often considered the macro scale of the urban system as dominant and as a disciplining dispositive over walkers’ bodies in the micro scale. Examples are De Certeau’s concepts of ‘tactics and strategies’ ([1980] 1984)

and Lefebvre's ideas of 'dressage' (2013). Here I draw on Gatt's (2013) use of the concept of 'force fields' that allows us to account for micro and macro forces at play from a subjective point of view: what does affect walkers' capacities to act? In that way, I am comparing walkers' experiences and appreciating differences of power across everyday practitioners.

Attending to and rhythmically attuning with the environment allows walkers to participate in places. When we walk, we enter into determined fields of forces that may enable or restrict our possibilities to act. Tracing how this process occurs, through describing variations of rhythm and attention, allows me to have a grasp of the force fields within which pedestrians perform their walks. These stories show that not all city dwellers have full access to experiences of the places they live in and move through. The socio-spatial conditions they encounter might either enable or constrain their capacities for enacting rhythms and directing their attention in ways that could respond to their will and needs, such as relaxing, free-flowing, disconnecting, appreciating the surroundings, talking on the phone, talking while walking, or playing with the kids, among many others.

What places offer to walkers and how they can make use of them, as Gatt (2013, 354) explains based on Ingold's notion of affordances, 'is a mutually constitutive process'. Ingold (2000, 354) says that '[in] the process of engaging with the world, people's attention is educated towards different affordances in their environment'. We learn how to inhabit the world. Gatt (2013, 354) adds a turn to that idea that allows us to reflect on power in practitioners' doings. She says that as much as attention is educated towards some affordances, 'people's attention can also be distracted from other affordances'. She makes us aware of the forces at play in situations. In the case of walkers, the idea of being distracted from place affordances is key to explain what happens when constraining conditions hijack walkers' attention which means they miss an opportunity to attend to

things according to their needs or will: possibilities for performing the everyday practice of walking, thus, remain unattended to when situations are too constraining.

Together with learning to attend to environmental affordances, people need to be able to direct their attention to them. That depends as well on the practitioners' subjectivity: it is not the same to walk as a woman, man, kid or as an old person. For example, our first story would have been different if we had been three women walking at night. Our possibilities for negotiating the situation might have been different. But again, it is a complex situation as the familiarity with places influence our capacities to act too. Even being a man, Juan Onofre's friend was less confident in part because he had never been in those places at that time before. Therefore, our situation in the world and our life trajectory affect the sort of things we attend to, the affordances we find on our way and how we rhythmically correspond to them. In corresponding as we do while walking, there are always power struggles: we walk in force fields that create a pedestrian micropolitics that I suggest to explore by tracing variations in walkers' rhythm and attention.

Conclusion

I presented four stories in which I traced walkers' variations of rhythm and attention to show how their capacities to perform their practice vary in relation to both conditions of places and their own agency. For this purpose, I have selected stories that cover the range of low, middle and high-income areas of the city to compare how attention and rhythm are enacted differently in these areas. I chose to focus on these few stories because I think more detailed descriptions allow us to compare and comprehend lived experiences in their complexity. Stories give an opportunity for recalling materials and affective details and to focus on subtle changes of senses, ambiances, etc. From comparing these stories it is possible to appreciate how walkers' rhythms and modes of attention respond to a greater extent to place configurations, which in Santiago are heavily influenced by socio-economic

resources of dwellers. Thus, the effects of an unequal distribution of resources across the city do not only determine greener or greyer streets, but they affect the more intimate relationships people build with places by walking them.

I have suggested that tracing walkers' attention and rhythm helps understanding as to how urban inequality intersects with everyday walking practices and it permits to outline a micropolitics of walking. Choosing to consider these two particular elements emerged from fieldwork experiences, from observing how walkers' bodies and conversations changed depending on how enabling or constraining the situations were. In previous chapters I distinguished differences in materials and affectivities among walkers' experiences in Santiago related to the areas people live and move through. These argued that places present different affordances to walkers. But I needed to describe as well how walkers experience that inequality in their bodies while walking: What varied in walkers' experiences when they walked under unequal conditions? What varied when materials and affectivities changed? I proposed here that what changes in pedestrian experiences are the possibilities for attuning with the world around: walkers' possibilities for enacting rhythm and directing their attention. In other words: the way we express (rhythm) and stretch (attention) to places differ. Considering walkers' rhythm and attention in the analysis of different experiences of walking allow us to envisage the 'force fields' in which pedestrian practices are performed, which is how urban inequality intersects with pedestrian practices.

As I showed in chapters 4 and 5, certain material qualities and affectivities enable or constrain walkers' capacities and they are likely to be distributed in the city according to socio-economic differences. I suggested in this chapter that those changes in walkers' capacities affect the way they can enact rhythm and attention, which changes the way they become part of places. I also highlighted walkers' agency within this process, depicting

how the walker has possibilities to be creative in enacting attention and rhythm, even in constraining situations. I pointed out that having more control over what to attend to and what rhythm to enact does not necessarily translate into having the best experience of walking. Tracing variations of rhythm and attention allowed me to envisage the micropolitics of walking as a complex process that does not respond mechanically to good or bad socio-spatial conditions. A 'better' experience of walking seems to depend more on the possibilities of negotiating how to become part of places: a greater agency in pedestrian micropolitics that is expressed in the capacities of walkers to enact rhythm and attention.

Up to this point, I have described walkers' situations and experiences and how they negotiate their possibilities to be part of places and take the most out of their pedestrian journeys. From these everyday events—from this micropolitics of walking—a broader sense of the city is created, about which I wonder in my third research question. In the next chapter, I address what kind of relationship urban dwellers create with the city and what kind of knowledge they produce from their everyday practices of moving by foot, which leads me to reflect about the more general role of walking in Santiago.

Touching the City: ‘Only walking you can get that kind of knowledge’

Introduction

This last empirical chapter outlines my understanding as to how pedestrian practices affect urban dwellers’ sense of the city they inhabit and how it relates to inhabitants’ socio-economic differences. In this way, I aim to answer my third research question which leads me to use the knowledge I have produced on how people walk in Santiago and the micropolitics entailed in those practices, to reflect about and contribute to a broader understanding of urban walking. In other words: the chapter delves into the role of pedestrian practices in the relationship between urban dwellers’ and the city.

I want to invite you to look some of the still-montages I used during interview-workshops. I want to transmit to you the sense I had in the fieldwork of how places emerge differently depending on the way we move through them. The next three images correspond to a journey by car, by bike and by foot^{34 35}:

³⁴ There are other means of transport research participants use such as metro or bus. However, I could not video register those stretches of the journeys. In the case of the metro, permission is needed and in the case of the bus, I decided not to record since it involved focusing on other persons too closely.

³⁵ The following images are pieces I cut from each still-montage. To see them fully, please go to ‘Ways of Moving’ in: <https://thesisappendices.wordpress.com>



Figure 7.1 Still-montage: Fernanda's journey by car, September 2015.



Figure 7.2 Still-montage: Antonio's journey by bike, February 2016.



Figure 7.3 Still-montage: Rafaela's journey by foot, December 2015.

I reflected with research participants about how these montages represented their experiences of moving by car, bike or walking. They specified, in the case of the bike and the car, that the representation was affected by the frames windows and my own arms created in the image. These frames give an effect of a certain homogeneity or noise in the image. In the case of the bike this representation may not be an accurate representation of the experience since cyclists do not ride looking through their arms. However, in the case of the car we agreed that looking of places through a window may represent, in part, the sensory experience of driving. Regarding the montages representing walking, we appreciated that they allowed us to appreciate more details about places compared to the others, even though, because of the scale of the images, some details were missing. Reflecting upon these representations we could appreciate a relation between walking and engaging with places' details.

In this chapter I draw on the specificity of walking that permits us to grasp places in more detail. I reflect about the relationship between everyday walking practices and the kind of knowledge of the city they entail. I argue that the way we move around the city in everyday life plays a role in the broader sense we make of it. The literature on walking describes that walking generates specific ways of knowing the environment characterised by the sensory participation of the body in places (see section 2.3). I propose, then, to conceive the practice of walking as a way of touching the city. The notion of 'touching' captures the specificities of this sensory relationship in a suitable way since it leads us to think in 'contacting', 'reaching out' or 'stretching out', on one hand, and in 'surfaces' and 'textures', on the other. It involves, therefore, ideas of movement and sensory engagement which is what walking is about. It also implies the idea of reciprocity: 'to touch is always to be touched' (Rodaway 1994, 41), which is a characteristic of walking as walkers' bodies are responsive to places and places are affected by a walkers' presence.

I structure this chapter into five sections. I start by arguing further why thinking of walking as a way of touching allows us to make sense of urban dwellers' relationship with the city, even when they do not walk often in their mobility routines. Next, I introduce the concept of 'tactile knowledge' (Diaconu 2011) in order to illustrate it through the experiences of my research participants. In the third and fourth sections, I present the metaphors of 'plaited city' and 'dotted city' to make sense of differences in the way this tactile knowledge takes form, depending mostly on how habitually urban dwellers walk and the diversity of the places they are exposed to. Finally, I suggest that the experience of a plaited or a dotted city is distributed, being more likely for people to experience a dotted city in the lowest and highest income areas and a plaited city in middle-income areas. This is a finding that permits me to reflect further on the intersections of everyday walking and urban inequality, going back to and reinforcing the way I have addressed my first research question, completing this way the journey of this thesis.

7.1 To Walk is to Touch: A Reciprocal Relationship with Places

Pedestrian movement 'entails tactile contact with the material aspects of the city—its roads, buildings, and flows of traffic' (Vergunst 2017, 13). Moreover, John Urry (2000, 102-103) asserts that the sense of touch is fundamental 'for exploring and appreciating the physical world'. He highlights the compelling effect of touching: 'Often it is only because we have touched an object . . . that we consider that we really know what it is and what it might do'. Among the research participants, it was a repeated idea—even among those who walked less in their everyday lives—that it is only through walking that you can 'really' know places. Therefore, I suggest that the tactile contact that Vergunst and Urry relate to the material can be used to think broadly about beings, ambiances, and the whole urban experience.

I argue, then, for an understanding of urban walking as a way of touching the city that influences dwellers' engagement with it. I consider that the notion of touching may help

to make sense of the kind of knowledge of the environment that walking produces: people learn places depending on their ways of moving through them in their everyday, which is the way they participate in places. To know places, you need to participate (to move) in them and the form that participation takes (the way you move), will outline the kind of knowledge you get. In defining walking as touching, I am drawing inspiration from philosopher Madalina Diaconu (2011, 1), who describes walking as a means for experiencing ‘the haptic qualities of surfaces and textures’ of the city. Therefore, walking allows a haptic participation in places, which involves haptic perceptions of other dwellers.

Perceptions occur while walking involving, to a greater or lesser extent, all of the senses available. One sense may be more relevant than the other on certain occasions, but it is fundamentally a synesthetic phenomenon: ‘The tactile experience of cityscapes implies touch not only directly but also indirectly by means of synesthetic correspondences, as when we see tactile qualities or when the loud echo of the steps inside a building make us feel cold’ (2). Furthermore, understanding synesthetic experiences can use Merleau-Ponty’s concept of vision as a ‘palpation’ with the eyes, as Diaconu does: ‘The pedestrian, too, “palpates” the surface of buildings, feeling their size, shape and firmness, protrusions and edges’ (2).

I am not stating that walking is a more real or more aware way to experience places. I do not want to foster that romanticism. I wonder, instead, why my research participants depict walking in that way. There is writing within mobilities studies that insightfully illustrate how driving and riding may produce specific ways of perceiving the environment (see Pearce 2012, Cook and Edensor 2014). Each way of movement has its singularities due to the kind of contact each allows with the environment. Differences are related to some extent with the speed and material mediation: it is not the same to walk under the rain as it is to drive under the rain nor is it the same to walk through dangerous places as it is to

cycle or drive through them. In the same way, it is not the same to drive with windows open or closed. In fact, Fernanda commented she enjoyed opening the windows as she felt more in contact with the environment. Therefore, to feel in contact with the environment is not an exclusive singularity of walking, what is singular is the form that contact takes while walking: a sensory and responsive participation in places.

Ingold (2011, 162) explains that ‘someone who knows well is able to tell’ which means more than ‘to recount the stories of the world, but also in the sense of having a finely tuned perceptual awareness of their surroundings’. As I have been showing, to walk through places enables people to tell more and more diverse stories about places due to the intense attunement it makes possible.

In walking, the exposition of the body to the environment is different from other means of transport. While you can close the window of the car or pedal faster you can thereby create another kind of engagement in which bodily participation in places is different: it is less sensory compelled to places. This was recognised by some of my participants talking about how while walking you cannot avoid risky situations as easily as on a bike or in a car:

[The place was] very ugly. I found it like... I thought that maybe I would be scared if I walked there . . . All the area was ugly: very little greenery, dirty, and you could see quite strange persons standing on the corners. So, I said to myself ‘I would not come here by foot’ [about a low-income area she visited once by car].
(Sofia)

*I have always gone through this place only by bike. So, walking through here it is like you said: you are forced to socialize. If you go by bike you can pedal fast and run away, you know. But here [walking] you cannot.*³⁶
(Juan Onofre)

I argue that these differences in the possibilities for becoming part of places impact the type of knowledge we get from them. Certainly, while walking, pedestrians also have a capacity to shape the kind of engagement they want to enact within places. As I showed in the previous chapter, controlling their rhythm and attention may protect the walker from being too involved with places: they can cocoon the body. In fact, rhythm and attention may serve as defence strategies (see section 6.2.1.). However, walkers cannot totally avoid body's exposition: the sensory responsiveness with places is pervasive. Of course a walker can pay little attention to what is around, either way a fundamental bodily attunement must occur to allow her or him to keep putting one step in front of the other.

Public transport deserves special consideration in terms of touching due to the shared space it involves and its connection with walking since you need to walk to bus stops and metro stations. These are spaces of intensive contact between bodies, especially at certain crowded times. Scholars have studied what occurs in these mobile enclaves that Jirón (2010b) has called 'mobile places' (see also Bissell 2014, Bissell, Vannini, and Jensen 2017, Bissell 2018). Research participants across income areas agreed in considering crowded times in public transport uncomfortable and sometimes disturbing. The difference between them is that some could avoid those situations and, indeed, that was one of the reasons argued by those participants for using a car if possible. This advantage of using the car, which some of the participants themselves recognise as an advantage, leads us to think how, historically, the possibility of moving liberated from touching the ground has been conceived as a privilege, such as the Sedan chair in the 19th century or, nowadays,

³⁶ This excerpt corresponds to the audio recording of a journey. It is the moment when we encountered two men at night which made us feel very insecure, see section 6.2.1

cars and paid urban highways that allow people to cross the city easily, without even 'entering' into it.

One key aspect of the act of touching that helps us to better describes what happens when we walk is reciprocity. Here I am following Paul Rodaway (1994) who describes touching as a way of 'reaching out' to the world around. Rodaway claims, based on psychologist Edwin Boring, that to 'touch is more than the action of the fingers feeling the texture of surfaces. Touch involves the whole body reaching out to the things constituting the environment and those things, or that environment, coming into contact with the body' (Boring, 1942, in Rodaway 1994, 44). Rodaway emphasises that touching is a reciprocal act: when you touch, you are also being touched, a characteristic also highlighted by Diaconu (2011).

The reciprocity that takes place when we touch somebody or something helps us to describe, in turn, the sensory reciprocity that walking entails. Both, touching and walking, imply the performance of a relationship in movement. Movement is essential to perception, as Ingold (2000, 2011) states drawing on Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology and on Gibson's ideas about vision when he suggests that we see as we move. Walking, then, which is the essential way of movement for the human body, is essential to the perception of places (Ingold and Vergunst 2008a). Furthermore, different ways of movement (walking, riding, driving, on public transport, plane) may develop different pathways of sensory participation within places (see section 2.2). Particularly in the case of walking, Ingold (2011, 17-18) explains that in 'skilled activities' with an 'itinerant character' in which each gesture 'is a development of the one before and a preparation for the one following', the perceiver 'reaches out into the environment' in a constant movement. This idea reinforces my stance of considering walking as a way of reaching out, which, referencing to Rodaway's definition, would be the same as saying that walking is touching. Hence,

following the idea that touching involves a reciprocity, it is possible to say that when we walk, we are also being walked by places.

This may sound like a play on words; however, the sensory reciprocity of walking has been fruitful when learning about the pedestrian experiences in Santiago and how they intersect with urban inequality: what kind of places walk through you. The reciprocity entailed by the practice of walking appeared on my research horizon for the first time by talking with Mara, reflecting together about her ways of walking. She concluded her account by saying with a big smile '*el camino me transita*' (the path/walk goes through me):

Mara: *No... so I think for me walking is not a sport, it is a joy. It is... I have used it.. No, it is not like 'I have used it', it is 'the walk that has used me' to let me be aware of the world I dwell. To me, wet streets, sunny streets, every kind of street calls to me: 'walk me, walk me!' (she laughs). Sometimes I have walked eating bread, eating an ice-cream, smoking, I do not know. In many ways, but... I have walked them [the streets] feeling sad, joy, crying, happy... I mean... singing, crying. I have walked them in many ways.*

Me: *Depending on how you are in your life...*

Mara: *They are part of me, of my history. That is. To me, walking is marvellous. The path/walk goes through me, always.... Always!*

We both laughed at that insightful assertion that seemed a play on words. I felt she was invoking a genuine belief. We both felt it was an enlightened way to grasp what occurs when you walk. It concurs with another of Mara's insights I have already quoted (see the conclusion of chapter 4): you become the landscape you walk through. A bright way of making sense of her experience of walking which for her means to mingle with the world. My joy was high when, a few months later, I read a concordant idea in a recently published article by Ingold (2017, 16) asserting that once you are walking 'it seems that I become my walking, and that my walking walks me'. It was a kind of proof of some sort of confluence in the thinking about walking from different parts of the world, from different backgrounds; as if a dialogue would have been taking place.

These notions of touching, reciprocity and becoming places are expressed by philosopher Michel Serres (2016, 80) who understands the skin as a common edge through which we mingle with the world:

The skin is a variety of contingency: in it, through it, with it, the world and my body touch each other, the feeling and the felt, it defines their common edge. Contingency means common tangency: in it the world and the body intersect and caress each other. I do not wish to call the place in which I live a medium, I prefer to say that things mingle with each other and that I am no exception to that, I mix with the world which mixes with me. Skin intervenes between several things in the world and makes them mingle.

In the same vein, Kevin Hetherington (2003) gives us another example of how the experience of touching implies a blurring of borders. He explores visually impaired persons' experiences in museums to understand everyday processes of place-making through the sense of touch. One of his research participants describes touching objects in this way: 'When I am touching something there is no "me" and the object I am touching' (1934). The person expresses that touching is an interaction that blurs boundaries. It is as if through the movement touching involves (reaching out) the identities of subjects and materials were shaken. This description of what touching allows in lived experience concurs with Masschelein's (2010) assertions of walking to be an act of ex-posure (see section 6.1.2) and with Katrín Lund (2012, 225) depictions of 'the merging of person and landscape through the activity of walking'. Both walking and touching are, perhaps, a similar or the same kind of sensory experience as reaching out. In touching, the body contacts other bodies and materials; in the same way, while walking the body enters in contact with places, affecting and being affected by them: an encounter of surfaces that allows a textured world to emerge.

7.2 Pedestrian Knowledge of the City

From Hetherington's research we learn that touching blurs boundaries between who touches and who or what is touched. Lee and Ingold (2006, 77) also depict this reciprocity telling about the relationship between walkers and the city: 'By creating routes, walkers inscribe their own lives into the city, if only for the transient moments when they pass along'. This inscription implies to be a sensory part of the places walkers go through: we cannot say where their bodies finish and where the city starts. This instability of identities that occurs in touching forges a transformative knowledge. Furthermore, the sensory experiences walkers gather from urban life can be conceived as a 'tactile knowledge' (Diaconu 2011, 5) that does not only feed the practice back, but also nurtures broader 'non-contemplative forms of environmental knowledge' (Vergunst 2008, 114). While Vergunst is talking about the bodily mingling with ground surfaces, I am broadening this appreciation to places' surfaces in general (other bodies, things, atmosphere, ambiances, etc.). My argument, therefore, is that the kind of encounters people have on their everyday walks foster a sense of familiarity, a sense of what is to be expected from places and from the city. It is the kind of sense Taussig (1992, 141) calls everyday sense: a sense that is most a kind of sensuousness. This sensuousness emerging from the embodied experience of places affects pedestrian practices not only in terms of how to walk in the city, but it also affects the subjective imaginations and representations people craft of the city in which they dwell.

Those urban dwellers less exposed sensory and reciprocally to other beings and materials in their mobility practices may have one less source from which to become sensitive to the diversity and problems of the city they dwell. I am conscious that stating such a claim runs the risk of neglecting other ways of being in contact with urban life. Far from that, my aim is to reflect on urban everyday life and the sensory. Everyday walking is a way of attuning with the more sensible and face-to-face dimensions of urban life: it implies a sensory

reciprocity. At the same time, the spatial segregation of neighbourhoods in Santiago involves a segregation of experiences of the city, which creates kinds of sensory bubbles: the city you are left to experience or you choose to experience. In Santiago, it is likely that those options will depend on people's socio-economic conditions. Therefore, this sensory segregation responds to the existent patterns of urban inequality.

To illustrate what I am arguing, I deploy an excerpt of an interview a Chilean newspaper held with Daniel Mansuy, a conservative thinker. I find his opinion particularly valuable because he works in an elite university in contact with people who generally neglect the socio-economic inequality of the country. The interviewer's questions and Mansuy's answers exemplify one of the main concerns that encouraged me to investigate everyday walking practices: the fact that people from the elites barely walk the city they inhabit. Most of them live segregated lives, as I showed in chapter 3, losing contact with the rest of the city. Furthermore, as I have explored, many of them do not even walk through their own neighbourhoods as they perform car dependent lifestyles. I recognise my concern about the political consequences of elite groups' reluctance to walk in the city, especially when some of them exert economic and political power through institutions and business. I think they miss a source for engaging in a sensuous knowledge of the different everyday(s) that make up the city:

[They discuss how the Chilean right-wing has been blinded by the economic growth of the last 30 years, which has led them to be uncritical about the socio-economic problems of those who have not benefited from the growth in the same way]

Interviewer: But it is not only an ideological issue, it is also the lifestyle they have chosen. The right-wing ruling class lives in neighbourhoods where you do not bump into anybody.

Mansuy: Yes, I think that is a problem of our elites, that they have moved out of the public spaces and it seems that they have lost the awareness of the importance of social integration. It is not coincidence that the elite understands less and less the society they intend to rule.

Interviewer: But even their own neighbourhoods, where only people like them live, are built in such a way that nobody walks on the street.

Mansuy: Indeed. I do not know if it is an ideological or a functional issue, but I see it and it is an odd thing. I mean, very close to here (San Carlos de Apoquindo³⁷) there are neighbourhoods without sidewalks or the sidewalks of which are made for cars to park . . . Sure, as if living completely apart would not have political consequences. When you are not aware of that, you have a problem because the feeling that the elite lives in another country generates a brutal social tension.
(Hopenhayn 2017)

The interview points to the urban form and the lifestyle developed by high-income groups wanting to detach themselves from the city. It shows how their segregation has been a normal trend: clustering themselves in the north-east part of the city (see section 1.2). Not all of them live necessarily in gated communities, as it occurs in many other Latin-American countries, but they have used the urban morphology to isolate themselves on one of the edges of the city by living in spaces difficult to access if not by car; high property values only afforded by them and shopping malls not targeted to the middle and lower classes, etc. It is in this context that I consider touching as a fruitful figure to think about the knowledge of the city produced within pedestrian practices: What city do they experience when they hardly walk it? It arises, thus, a politics of touching the city that depends on where you live and the degree of sensory involvement each mode of mobility allows.

The ways people routinely move through the city create familiarities. For example, Marlene Eberhart (2013, 177) in her work about making publics in the early modern Europe, says about walking that

the regular traversing of the city—walking the streets to participate in the reception and dissemination of news, for example, or conversation in a salon about a new work of art—creates the space and time of daily life. This movement is

³⁷ That is the area where Sofía lives, the same that Pau and Julia had recently left.

literally a touching of the environment and filled with the potential for touching others.

Eberhart talks about early modern times when the street played a fundamental political role as a big scene for meetings and power demonstrations. Nowadays, the street and walking may not play the same political role; however, walking in the city still generates a sense of how the world around is. It produces a ‘relational sensemaking of touch’ that informs the ways people learn about the world. These ideas are meaningful in understanding the situation depicted in the interview above. Tactile knowledge is fundamental to creating a sense of society or togetherness that other ways of moving are less prone to produce because of the lack of the same sensory reciprocity:

The interactive character of the “tactile knowledge” means also *reciprocity*: one cannot touch without being touched. The subject of vision could be imagined as being placed outside the world observed; on the contrary, the tactile subject is necessarily connatural with its environment and cannot avoid being affected by it: the subject is *tangible* and *exposed* to the other’s touch (Diaconu 2011, 24).

I suggest that having fewer possibilities for experiencing that reciprocity within places people inhabit—or walking only through homogeneous and limited places—impacts on people’s sense of the city and of the other with whom they share the space. For example, I once asked Juan Onofre:

Me: *Do you think the city would be different for you if you walked through it less?*
Juan Onofre: *I think so. Because I would not know it. I mean, I would know it but... it is strange! Your question surprises me because I wonder if there is any trick in this question.*

There was no trick in my question. I was expecting him to answer positively as he has manifested before there was something about walking and knowing the city that was unique. Then he explained to me how the rhythm of the walk allows him to attune with certain memories and perceptions he would miss if he did not walk through those places.

It would be different just cross them by car or public transport. The rhythm of walking allows him to be touched by the memories places keep. That does not mean that other transport modes do not spark his memories; however, those of walking are more related with places and the sensory involvement with them. What are the consequences of having memories and experiences of the city limited only to few and homogeneous places? What does walking do to cities? Therein lies the trick. Yes, Juan Onofre would know the city differently if he walked less but that does not mean he would not have a knowledge of the city.

To explore the kind of knowledge of the city everyday walking makes possible, I worked with two metaphors that connote two different experiences of the city: a 'plaited city' and a 'dotted city'. The plaited city is the more continuous experience of diverse places. It is a city of encounters in which *'you see different people, different things: good and bad things'* (Belisario). Instead, the dotted city emerges from a more controlled or reduced practice of walking: the dweller loses contact with the diversity of the city either by choice or due to restrictive conditions that prevent her or him from walking at will. These metaphors may help us to think about the effects of walking in the city (or not) on urban dwellers' everyday lives.

7.3 How Do You Walk in the City? The Plaited City and Dotted City

A place-experience that is familiar in one period may be unfamiliar in the next . . . The same occurs on an individual level through the abandonment of certain paths and routes over the course of a lifetime. Furthermore, place-experience is not binary, a simple matter of knowing or not knowing; knowledge arises from actions, and place-experiences thus present innumerable shades of differentiation depending on what one is doing in a place. Accordingly, *terrae incognitae* can emerge when any way of interacting with the world is changed and, what is most important for our purposes here, when *paths are no longer travelled in the same way* (Adams 2001, 186).

I made sense of the differences in the knowledge of the city that emerges from different ways of everyday walking. As Adams explains, there is a knowledge that arises from actions, from what we do on the routes we normally take. As I have shown, research participants perform walking practices differently, depending on the role walking plays in their routines and their capacities for action within the practice. I argue that these differences in pedestrian lived experiences—or peripatetic sense of place—affect the kind of relationship urban dwellers create with the environment, in this case with the city as a whole (for a definition of ‘peripatetic sense of place’ see section 2.3).

I could observe among research participants that those who had a more frequent practice of walking through diverse areas were mostly those living in middle-income neighbourhoods. Acknowledging this fact and reviewing field notes together with the material from the interview-workshops, I started to have the impression that different experiences of Santiago emerged depending on the relationship participants had with walking, whether they walked daily, occasionally, or not at all. Participants’ ideas and sensations about Santiago differed; however, it was possible to define some insightful similarities. Those experiences of the participants who walked more tended to be more open and benign than those of participants that walked less in their everyday lives. Lund (2012, 226) suggests that ‘the paths and the routes that the wandering feet follow shape

stories as they direct the walks, and are simultaneously shaped during the course of the walk'. I realised that a city full of details, senses, memories, and stories appeared in their narratives, which I started to call the 'plaited city'. On the other hand, those participants who, at the moment of the fieldwork, had a less intensive tactile relationship with Santiago, usually narrated the city in a less detailed way, which I started to call the 'dotted city'. I am using this differentiation in a metaphorical way aiming to make sense of the differences in the 'tactile knowledge' that the practice of walking generates.

I use the metaphor 'plaited city' having in mind the image of a braid: threads intermingling. A more habitual and diverse practice of walking allows us to create more diverse threads to make up urban experience, leading to a more heterogeneous sensory knowledge of the city. Other ways of moving may also produce other ways of knowing the city. Nevertheless, the singularity of walking—as I have argued throughout my work—consists in the sensory and reciprocal foundation of that knowledge, in which you walk places making them with your paces and, at the same time, being affected by them: surface to surface. The movement of the walker creates places' textures through that contact. This metaphor picks up the organic characteristics of the process in which hair threads are interlaced by hands—touch is essential—through a sensory practice that put the practitioner in contact with the materials. Through those actions a unique texture, that of the braid, is produced. As Ingold (2011, 133) says: 'Haptic engagement is close range and hands on. It is the engagement of a mindful body at work with materials and with the land, 'sewing itself in' to the textures of the world along the pathways of sensory involvement'.

In the literature, there are many metaphors that work around threads, fabrics, weaving—among others—to consider place-making. We find Ingold's definition of place as a knot of entwining lifelines (2011, 148); Paul Adams, Steven Hoelscher and Karen Till (2001, xiv) who propose thinking about the textures of places to 'highlight the weaving together of

social relations and human-environment interactions’, or Iturra (2015, 2012) who invites us to conceive the interwoven articulations of different experiences of places we move through as ‘the woven city’. Talking specifically about urban walking, de Certeau ([1980] 1984, 97) depicts that intertwining paces create paths that ‘weave places together’. Using the metaphor of the ‘plaited city’ resounds with these works. To call it ‘plaited’ seemed more suitable for this specific case as it involves the idea of tactility. You plait with a part of your body—your hands—in contact with the material, as much as you walk with your feet—and body—in contact with places’ surfaces.

On the other hand, a less frequent and less diverse pedestrian practice leads to a knowledge of the city similar to that of the *terra incognita* Adams describes in the quotation above. When people walk limited to a few specific parts of the city, their tactile experience of the city is circumscribed to those places. Chances for new or unexpected events and experiences shrink, as well as the emphasis of the tactile component of their urban experience. As Adams suggests, the knowledge of places depends on what the subject does in places, which includes how they move through the place if we understand movement as place-making. Following Adams, research participants that walk less tend to miss moving through the city in a tactile way. The tactile experience of urban paths remains or becomes a *terra incognita*. Yet, this does not mean that their urban experience is poorer or less real. Travelling by car or bike also produces a knowledge of urban places, though less tactile and with different characteristics. Ingold (2011, 133) describes it as a less haptic and more optical experience of the world ‘founded on distance and detachment’, which may help to understand the indifference Mansuy was describing above from the Chilean elite class. It may also help to understand some detachment from the city as a result of the exclusion and confinement of dwellers from the lowest income areas.

By no means am I depicting two different ‘cities’. There is not such a thing on the map as the ‘plaited city’ and ‘dotted city’. Instead, I make sense of different subjective ways of relating with urban spaces. City dwellers live enmeshed in ever-changing environments, therefore to adopt rigid categories in order to grasp their relationship with the city implies neglecting the complexity of the urban encounters and that is not my purpose. Moreover, I am using this metaphorical opposition to better grasp my participants’ range of experiences. It sets two poles along which my participants’ experiences move: what happens when everyday movement implies feeling the textures of places and sensory participating in the city, compared to what happens when people do not have that experience so often. This latter situation can occur either because they have the capacity (power) to choose what parts of the city they relate more intensively and they actively avoid walking on everyday basis or because they do not have possibilities for developing a more diverse sensory relationship with their environments because their pedestrian practices are restricted by socio-spatial conditions. In other words, I reflect about what is the effect of these different daily performances of places on foot in terms of the sense of the city people embody. I argue that a different sense of the city—a different ‘peripatetic sense of place’ (see section 2.3)—is assembled within these different ways of ‘reaching out’ or ‘stretching toward’ the city which influences people’s feelings regarding the others with whom they live.

7.4 Private and Public, Being or not Being in Touch

One common breaking point that seems to lead to having experiences that correspond either to a plaited or a dotted city is the use of public or private means of transport. The imaginations of urban space and the way urban dwellers embody a sense of their city vary depending on their use of private or public means of transport in their everyday mobility. We may experience the city more as a continuum, in the case of public transport and more as dots you reach by stepping on and off your private machine, in the case of the car or the

bike. For example, Sofia used public transport, but once she and her husband bought a car, she tended to use only this. She highlights the comfort the car affords, related to not needing to walk: *‘[we are talking about public transport] Yes, because there is a moment when you need to walk and when you have a car, you try to get as close to your destination point as you can’*.

Private and public divisions organise the city (Madanipour 2003, 1). Normally when talking about private and public spaces we imagine fixed entities. However, moving around the city can also be understood through this organising principle. In Santiago, as in many cities, that distinction between private and public regarding mobility practices is socio-economically segregated. Normally the lower-income population moves on public transport while the higher-income people are less likely to travel by bus or metro. Jirón (2010a, 73) suggests there is a ‘tunnel effect’ in which ‘the city becomes restricted in specific ways for specific people [while moving], creating specific “tunnels” depending on the social characteristics and possibilities’ (74). In that way, she calls attention to the fact that, in Santiago, people from different economic backgrounds hardly encounter each other while moving through the city, having as well contrasting and unequal experiences of travelling.

While I agree with envisaging mobile segregation as having a ‘tunnel effect’, I question the fact that it implies people to ‘skip’ the city, as Jirón suggests. I would prefer to think instead that urban dwellers miss an experience of the city. Jirón focuses on the mobility system in general, addressing walking incidentally. A perspective from walking may help complicate her insightful view. Understanding walking as a way of touching permits us to conceive travelling by public transport as a continuity of that sensory encounter with the city that walking allows, however problematical it can be to travel by public transport in Santiago, as research participants often describe. I would argue that travelling by bus people do not

'skip' the city because they have a distressful experience of it. Instead, they experience a singular dimension of it. The same can be said of travelling by car. Drivers do not necessarily 'skip' the city in their more comfortable 'tunnelled' journeys. The city is there and driving affords an experience of it as well. Therefore, the question we need to ask would be better oriented towards knowing what experiences of Santiago people experience while moving around the city by different means, which I think the metaphors of plaited and dotted city may help to explore.

Participants that use private means of transport tend to walk less, compared to people that depend on public transport who need to walk at least to bus stops or metro stations. Out of the 13 participants, 7 had a private means of transport. From the low-income area, only Juan Onofre owned a car; however, he moves mainly by public transport and walking because he cannot afford to use the car every day. From the group living in the middle-income area, two of them had private means of transport: Fernanda and Antonio. Fernanda owns a car which she used to commute every day. During the day, she may walk at lunchtime and with her kids around the neighbourhood some afternoons. She has plenty of places to go within a walking distance both where she works and where she lives. Therefore, even when her main means of transport is private, walking still has a role in her everyday mobility. The other case is Antonio who has a bike. He moves almost exclusively by bike and when he cannot use it, he takes public transport or walks; normally that is the case when he moves with others or when he goes out at night to a bar or a party and he does not know exactly where he will end up.

In higher income areas almost everyone had a car, except for Alejandro who due to economic circumstances has had to sell it and is moving by public transport. However, he was expecting to get a new car within a year. Pau also has a bike she uses when she does not need to go to another place after office time. She may walk at lunchtime and in the

afternoon going from her office to the place she takes flute classes. In the case of Felipe, he loves to walk, but his routine does not allow him to move by any other means except by car. He would not have the time to use public transport, he says. He walks the dog every day and during the weekends he may stroll around his house, in the hills or the mall. Sometimes he goes to central areas to visit some markets or parks. Finally, Sofia and Julia—both housewives—always use the car except for rare occasions. Julia recognises she never walks, only in the mall and supermarket. Sofia strolls sometimes with her husband after lunch outside during some weekends. She also travels every other week to the popular market La Vega located in downtown Santiago: she drives over there crossing the city from east to west, and once there, she walks in a place that, despite being private, feels public due to the great diversity of people you find. Julia and Sofia commented on enjoying walking when travelling, therefore not walking in their everydayness is more a consequence of their routines and lifestyle. For example, both organise and give support to their family members' daily routines: transporting them from place to place, buying groceries or what is needed for the house.

The next table summarises participants' access to private means of transport and the frequency they walk on an everyday basis:

Area of the city	Name	Private Means of Transport	Walking
Low-Income	Trinidad	No	Normally
	Belisario	No	Normally
	Juan Onofre	Yes/Car	Normally
	Malkovik	No	Normally
Middle-Income	Fernanda	Yes/Car	Frequently
	Mara	No	Normally
	Rafaela	No	Normally
	Antonio	Yes/Bike	Occasionally
High-Income	Alejandro	No	Normally
	Pau	Yes/Car/Bike	Occasionally
	Felipe	Yes/Car	Occasionally
	Sofia	Yes/Car	Rarely
	Julia	Yes/Car	Rarely

Figure 7.4 Summary table: research participants' means of transport by income and use frequency.

We can appreciate the tendency among the participants to walk less in cases of having private means of transport and living in a high-income neighbourhood. They organise their routines depending on the possibilities for moving that the car affords them. This corresponds with the trends shown by the 2012 EOD (SECTRA 2014a): people living in the greener, safer, and better maintained areas use the car more. On my way walking to some of the houses of the high-income participants, I encountered almost exclusively workers (domestic service and construction workers) and joggers on the street. It seemed to me while walking that these carefully designed spaces were kept as ornamental objects for the purpose being the perfect background scene to contemplate from windows: windows of cars and buildings.



Figure 7.5 Video-still: cars and buildings' windows, Julia's journey, March 2016.

Experiences of the plaited and dotted city relate to the socio-economic conditions of participants' residential place and personal income, which tend to coincide in Santiago. Not walking in everyday life seems less related to the practice of walking itself than to the advantages people find in moving by private means of transport.

The tactile knowledge of the city produced by everyday walking appears reduced in both extremes of the range of cases I worked with: high-income and low-income neighbourhoods. Those who walk more exclusively on foot will not always experience a plaited city, which relates to the possibility of moving through diverse places by foot. For example, Trinidad walks everyday but entire weeks can pass during which she does not travel out of the area where she lives. Therefore, she lives in a condition of confinement and her experience of the city is restricted which impacts the sense of the city she has. The reduction of the tactile experience of the city follows, interestingly, diametrically opposed conditions which reveal urban inequality at work: some can choose to walk less, some are forced to walk less.

7.5 The Pedestrian Lived Experience of the Unequal City

In this section I describe experiences of the dotted and plaited city in Santiago. Starting with the dotted city I, progressively, finish talking about plaited cities. I do not wish to separate them into two subsections to avoid classifying some mixed experiences either as one or the other.

It is an extended impression that in Santiago high-income dwellers do not walk or take public transport because it is symbolically stigmatised. In this representation of urban transport, public services come to fill a kind of failure for those individuals who cannot acquire a private means for moving, which would be the ‘desired’ way of moving around the city (Ureta Icaza 2009, 75). None of my participants living in high-income areas alluded directly to this kind of belief to explain their preference for the car. However, they acknowledged the existence of these ideas about class and cars.

All of them had experienced moving by public transport either when they were younger or when their economic situation did not allow them to have a car. The reasons they express for travelling by car currently correspond mainly to practical criteria: the car allows them to accomplish their daily needs more efficiently as Alejandro, Sofía, and Pau express:

***Alejandro:** Today, including the traffic jam and everything, it took me between 25 and 30 minutes to arrive at the office [he was driving a car his boss lent him].*

***Me:** And normally by bus, how much does it take? Around 45 minutes, 1 hour? Doesn't it?*

***Alejandro:** [Yes] And it is much more comfortable [the car], I go listening to the morning news on the radio.*

***Sofía:** I think it is only due to convenience. Because if one does not have a car, one moves either way. So, having a car or not will not condemn you to never going out. It is just a matter of convenience, I think.*

Pau: *[the reason for taking the car instead of the bike] Basically it is time availability. So, if I have to go to several places on the same day, I take the car. But, if I only go to the office, I prefer to go by bike.*

Also, as important as time-distance efficiency, all of them described moving on public transport as an uncomfortable experience:

Pau: *[we talk about her habitual means of transport] Car, bike and well... taxi. To be honest, public transport I do not use it because I... sometimes I take the metro, a few times.*

Me: *Metro at times of the day...*

Pau: *Never at rush hour! That is a highly traumatic experience, there are too many people!*

Alejandro: *[we are talking about public transport problems] Especially at rush hour. The metro and the buses are packed with people, I can't stand that either.*

In the case of women, feeling safe at night reinforces the use of the car. None of the female participants living in high-income areas walked at night. Contrastingly, male participants living in the same areas can walk at night without concerns; they describe it as a pleasant experience due to the calm of that time of the day (see section 5.5). This reflects different performances of places by foot depending on gender. We can notice the contrast in the appreciations about walking at night comparing male and female's descriptions:

Me: *Do you find this is a nice place to walk around?*

Alejandro: *Yes, yes. I like here a lot. Sometimes I go for a walk at night...*

Me: *At night? After coming back from work to relax a little?*

Alejandro: *Yes. I mean, it depends... if I come back home too tired [I do not go]... but sometimes I go for a walk and it is nice because... there are some other neighbourhoods you cannot do that.*

Felipe: *I like the night . . . Well, around my home at night. I generally take a walk around the neighbourhood, a couple of streets, because I walk my dog at night sometimes. And if not [walking the dog], it is when we go out together [him and his wife]. As you could see there are some restaurants nearby, or some places to drink something. We walk there too.*

Pau: I mean, for example, during the night... at least I do not walk at night... well, except if I walk with people I know. But even that way, I avoid it.

Having a car changes people's possibilities for walking. Julia, as I have mentioned before, grew up in a low-income neighbourhood. However, she was the participant with the highest personal income among all the participants and the one that walked the least. The rest of them were born and raised in middle-income or high middle-income households. Despite having had a sustained practice of moving by walking and public transport, their lives became progressively more car dependent. The case of Alejandro who needed to use public transport due to economic struggles is interesting. Even when he finds some advantages in walking more, he does not enjoy waiting times or depending on bus schedules which, together with the lack of comfort, makes moving on public transport a despairing experience for him. He prefers to be in a traffic jam in his own space inside the car than in the shared and often crowded space of the bus.

As expected, there are personal variations among them and among their sensibilities to the city. However, there is something they share: normally they move through private spaces and when they walk outside it is often limited to going through controlled routes they decide to walk (walking the dog, going to the restaurant at lunchtime, strolling in a park, etc.). Except for Julia, all of them enjoy walking when the conditions are benign: having time and walking in places where they feel comfortable and safe (comfortability was described by many of them in relation to avoiding crowded places). It can be the case they chose to walk along a place such as the city centre in the case of Felipe, Alejandro, and Pau, but they try to do it avoiding rush hours or late hours in the case of Pau.

None of them express hating the city or finding walking in the city an unpleasant activity by itself. They value the city but some of them acknowledge rarely needing to go to places too different from those they normally move around. For example, Pau says she barely

remembers knowing dirty places in Santiago. She knows there are places with problems of maintenance, but she does not remember having visited a place like that. On the other hand, those who have been in less green and less maintained places recently, can clearly remember those experiences as they are different from what they are used to. Regarding their tactile knowledge, the city they feel in their bodies is reduced to a few journeys on foot in places where they mostly found people like them and everything happens more or less as expected, without too many people around or unexpected events to deal with. The city they experience by touching is formed by dots: they practice walking in a few places they connect with by car journeys in which the tactile knowledge of the city diminishes.

Another kind of dotted city emerges from the experience in which dwellers are restricted in their possibilities for moving by foot, which is the case for Trinidad, Belisario, and Malkovik in low-income areas. Different from the trajectories on foot of high-income-areas-inhabitants, which are mostly chosen, in low-income areas walking is less of an option. In the case of Belisario and Trinidad, for example, sometimes they cannot even decide which street to walk through either because there are maybe only a few clean streets or because other possible routes are not safe (see section 6.6).

When I first visited Trinidad and Belisario's neighbourhood, almost all the women I met at the community centre that afternoon told me that they could not help me because they barely leave their houses: they did not walk often. Once I asked more details about their everyday routines, I understood that because the distances they normally walk are so reduced, they do not consider these movements as walking. When I say reduced distances, I am talking about somebody avoiding walking to the other side of the complex of buildings she lived in because it was dangerous. She was talking about no more than 200 metres' distance, just a couple of minutes' walking. The lady in charge of the community centre building told me about her insecurity when walking the two or three minutes

between her apartment and the community building when she must close the building after some activities when it is already dark. She always tries to go accompanied on those occasions. Therefore, their daily mobility is almost exclusively on foot, but they are less likely to have a plaited experience of the city. They normally perform reduced journeys, repeating the same routes. They have an enclosed experience of the city: little variations are possible due to no-go areas and no-go times. The four or five women I chatted with that day rarely go out to other parts of the city because it is expensive to pay for public transport, so they do it only if it is necessary (for more details on women's mobility in Santiago de Chile see Figueroa Martínez and Waintrub Santibáñez 2015).

The neighbourhood had plenty of limits, it felt it like a territory. The glances you receive from men standing on the corners let you know it. For example, the first morning on my way to Trinidad's house I got lost and immediately a lady who was watching out of the window asked me who I was looking for. Routes and journeys are more tactically performed in these areas: you need to take care where you go and when. A totally different dotted city emerges compared to the one in high-income areas. However, in both extremes the city shrinks. In both cases a reduced tactile knowledge of the city is produced, peculiarly, by opposed types of power relationship at work in places: due to choice in high-income areas and to restrictive socio-spatial conditions in low-income areas.

Belisario's case is the most extreme, within my research participants, of a person who does not walk due to constrictive socio-spatial conditions. He likes walking. He used to walk a lot when he was younger; he would like to walk more, but he does not have the opportunity. His everyday journeys do not take more than five minutes from his home to his workplace and ten minutes to his mother's house. He works all day in a small factory, sometimes at night and during weekends too, which leaves him little time to even think about going out of the area. His partner, Trinidad, has more versatile journeys but they

are still very confined to the neighbourhood they live. She takes their kid to the school on a journey that takes in total around fifteen minutes there and back. She walks to buy groceries or to the church, both places being no more than five minutes away or to her mother's house in the same street as hers. Some Wednesdays she uses public transport—a collective taxi³⁸—to go to her daughter's school where she takes a course on loom weaving. She does not have the time to attend every week as she wishes. Many Wednesdays she needs to stay at home working, sewing for a factory. Trinidad hardly controls her time because she never knows when she will receive work and she needs to take it. Some weekends all the family may go to a park in the city centre to stroll and spend the day out. Or, they may go to a commercial area in downtown where they buy stationery products they resell later in the neighbourhood. However, when I worked with them several weeks passed since the last time they have visited another place in the city.

Malkovik's tactile experience nowadays corresponds more with a dotted city. He has walked a lot of the city in his life. However, his experiences of walking are reducing. In part because he feels older, because he has a daughter suffering from multiple sclerosis and they cannot go out easily, and because he started to hate the increasing sensation of insecurity he feels in the city. Malkovik commutes every day. These are long journeys of one and a half hours, in the best of cases. He travels towards the high-income area where he works. On his way back home, sometimes he walks more than twenty minutes, a few bus stops away, to catch an emptier bus on which he might find a seat. At weekends, Malkovik admits not moving too far from home. Some Fridays he goes to play football in a place near his house and some Sundays he may go to the market that takes place in the same street he lives. We can see that he only walks a few routes which are mostly the same.

³⁸ Shared taxi that has fixed routes.

Juan Onofre experiences a plaited city, even while he lives in a low-income *comuna*. His tactile relationship with the city allows a plaited city to emerge as a result of his continuous walks through diverse places, around his home and elsewhere in the city. Among the participants, he had the most radical pedestrian practice, meaning that he traverses long distances by foot, crossing several *comunas* (see section 6.2.1). Walking with him allowed me to join together places of the city I had only reached by car, bus or metro: I created a bodily coherence of the city by stitching those places together as we moved through them. Walking with him I could plait the city in richer ways, gathering together experiences of diverse places at different times of the day. My sense of the city grew. Corresponding with this intense relationship with the city, his ideas about Santiago are rich too, similar to the majority of middle-income area dwellers. He values encountering diversity through the walks. He appreciates discovering signals he did not expect that talk to him about the world we live in and help him to reflect on his own life. Being in the city, ‘out there’, has been his way of feeling alive during the last two years since when he started to walk seriously:

Juan Onofre: . . . in these walks I started to see a lot of things I did not see before.

And I started to take more pictures than ever So, I say: no, I will never stop walking because here is everything. All the signals are here [in the walk].

Me: All the threads you join together in your walk...

Juan Onofre: Yes, but one thing would be that I, myself, join them together, and another thing it is what I believe: that walking simply draws them together. I do not know. Only walking you can get that kind of knowledge. So, I do not want to stop doing it. I feel that... I think the street talks to me. It is constantly talking to me... or the city [talks to him] . . . So you bump into these kinds of places too that otherwise you would never see. That is the thing: otherwise I would not see these places, nobody would know about them [he is talking about places in low-income areas].

A city full of stories, textures, and life appears when people frequently walk through diverse places. Of course, Juan Onofre has an advantage for exploring the city in that exposed way due to his gender and also because he is not ‘blond’, ‘white’ and ‘tall’ (which in Chile is associated with high social class). His body transmits through his secure pace

that he is a tough man. He is aware of the advantage he has and he makes the most of it. This makes me think about the feminist criticism about equating the city walker exclusively with the male, well-educated and wealthy man (see section 1.1). Which is, in sum, a question about who has the right to walk where. For example, the flâneur could walk in central areas in Paris, but has the flâneur walked through peripheral and poorer areas of the city 'hiding' himself in the multitude? Juan Onofre is not wealthy, he is not white, and that facilitates how he can walk through very lonely streets around the neighbourhood in which he lives. His appearance opens those spaces to him. But, does he have the same capacity to walk in the lonely streets of the wealthier areas? Or would his different kind of body and way of dressing be seen as a threat, as a body out of place? These are questions he asks himself and they reinforce the need to think about the micropolitics walking develops: who can walk, where, when and how? What is clear is that a more intense contact with the city generates a richer tactile knowledge that configures a plaited experience of it to which we accede, in part, depending on who we are.

Female participants who walk more often and through diverse places may feel more exposed in the city. However, each body learns how to navigate spaces and risks. Women can also be radical walkers and having plaited experiences of the city, as I learnt from Mara. Her practice of walking is very rich and her knowledge of the city is based on an ongoing experience of touching it by walking it. She is not afraid of walking in different places and undergoing different conditions, even when she has had bad experiences walking (for example, with soldiers during the dictatorship, see section 6.6). Of course, she recognises those bad experiences keep resonating in her body, showing that not being afraid of pedestrian lived experiences does not mean not being aware of the possible threats, as much as knowing how to cope with them. However, she says walking is like life: you may encounter good and bad things. She normally talks to people on her way; she gets to know some of them, such as the woman who sells sandwiches at the metro entrance or

the people she runs into sometimes at the elevator in the metro. Walking has had a relevant role in her life. She can tell the story of her life through her walking stories: when she was young and walked back home reading while walking or when she was raising her son and she taught him to touch the trees on their way. Now that she is getting older, she feels her body is starting to weaken and she is trying to find a balance. Walking for her is an experience that enriches her life:

I mean, I am delighted by the power [of walking]... sometimes I feel grateful for not having a car because I think that the richness that you gain day after day, step by step, the car could never give you that. No, never. I do not have anything against cars, but... eh... the richness I have gained from people it is because I walk. Yes! It is not due to any other reason.

Not all experiences of the plaited city are told through this overarching enthusiastic narrative. Some walkers such as Rafaela and Antonio have mixed feelings towards the city. They recognise they like walking, but they admit there are experiences they try to avoid. For Rafaela it is fear of crime; for Antonio, crowded places that he does not like not due to the discomfort of the situation—as in the case of high-income dwellers—but because people seem soulless and sad. However, they go through different parts of the city and mostly enjoy when they walk. Rafaela's fear of crime does not diminish her interest in places. In her practice of walking she tries to know about places, she enjoys broadening her sense of the city she lives in. For experiencing a plaited city it is necessary to have the openness Rafaela shows, even though sometimes she does not like walking in certain places at certain times. I learnt from her experience, as well as from Trinidad, that this openness in the performing of walking—even walking not under the best conditions—gives opportunities for self-expression and enjoyment. For example, she told me about the day she needed to walk for almost two hours to the hospital to see her husband because she did not have any money to take the bus. She was not walking for pleasure, she had pain on her knees, she was going through a lot of troubles and on top of that, walking to

the hospital took her through some dodgy areas she did not know well and she felt a little bit scared. However, her narration of the journey is far from being a lamentation. On the contrary, she narrates it highlighting that she gained something out of it: what she encountered, what she saw, what she learnt and the soothing of the sadness she was living. I am also pointing to this way of relating to the city when I talk about plaited experiences: different aspects of person's lives merge together with urban experiences and become part of walkers' bodily knowledge of places that probably takes the tones of her emotional state. To know places and remember places is also to know and remember herself as her story and herself is plaited with those places.

Fernanda's practice is an example of somebody that, while moving by car in her everyday life, can build a plaited experience of the city. Her walks are mostly in chosen moments through different parts of the city: she walks normally at lunchtime with her partner around the office's neighbourhood; with her kids during some afternoons to different places around her home; she may walk during the weekends either because she goes with her partner to shop at the local stores around, or she strolls with her kids to a particular place in Santiago (park, museum, etc.), which sometimes combines taking public transport. Fernanda values walking and being outside in touch with social life and she wants to transmit that to her kids.

Finally, the tactile knowledge Antonio gathers from his movements around the city is mixed between plaited and dotted city, and also mixed because he gathers tactile experiences from his bike too. He plays with the opportunity the bike gives him to engage more or less, depending on his will, with places as he goes. Therefore, he rides with an open attitude that adds to his tactile knowledge of the city. His experience shows how the knowledge of the city dwellers build while moving responds to the characteristics of the transport means but also, to the attitude the traveller has. He may stop or ride slowly in

some areas to know them better. However, he has the option of crossing fast places he is not interested in or if he feels insecure. He acknowledges he does not like to cycle through gentrified or high-income areas because of the feelings these places transmit to him about the inequality of the city. He just passes them quickly. Probably his tactile knowledge of the city is not the only cause of his political awareness, but being able to move through different parts of the city, knowing the places in between his points of departure and destiny, may add to his critical awareness of the place he inhabits.

I noticed that experiencing a plaited or dotted city was related with participants' appreciations of Santiago.³⁹ Generally, the more minor the role of walking in their everyday lives, the more their appreciations about the city became focused on negative aspects. It seems that as you walk less, the good micro encounters and vibes of the city that walking allows us to have are less experienced and/or more difficult to recall. A less haptic relationship with the city may reinforce awareness about its problematical issues. This is not exclusively related to high-income dwellers being more exigent with places. Participants from lower-income areas that did not walk much in varied ways (Belisario and Malkovik), also sustained more critical views of the city.

I could distinguish two types of detachment in those who experienced a dotted—less sensory varied—city. One is related to unescapable conditions that force urban dwellers living in low-income conditions to fall back from the city and being confined to restricted routes and routines, the consequence of which is a growth in their exclusion from the city. The other type is produced by not practising walking as part of mobility routines and selectively choosing when and how to walk. This is common to find in those participants living in high-income areas that settle their everyday mobility relying predominantly on the car. Therefore, in the two extremes of the socio-economic range, it occurs a

³⁹ For more details about participants' perspectives about the city, see Appendix 3.

detachment from the city produced by opposite power situations: segregation and auto-segregation.

On the other hand, participants living in middle-income areas had both the spatial affordances and the subjective will to make the most out of the city in diverse ways. Their answers to the question about if they liked Santiago or not are eloquently positive in the case of Juan Onofre, Mara, Fernanda, and Rafaela, who experience a plaited city. They talk about beauty, diversity, nature or magical places. However, they recognise they sometimes walk through places with bad vibes, too crowded or dangerous. This is interesting because it is not due to the fact that they walk only through 'good' places that they have built their intensive pedestrian practice and an overall positive sense of Santiago. Indeed, in many cases they do not walk through the most perfect and beautiful places. It makes sense, therefore, to say that 'to engage with the world tactually is to situate oneself consciously in that world and to have a potentially unmediated relationship with it' (Lewis 2000, 59). I think that what drives these walkers is the experience of being open to places, even if it involves some risks and situations they need to negotiate. The tactile relationship walking allows lets them know the complexities of urban life as they encounter other places and other people: they feel diverse materials and situations and they open themselves to become or embody the city in a more heterogeneous way. From these experiences emerges a specific knowledge of places: 'They thread their lines through the world rather than across its outer surface. And their knowledge . . . is not build up but grows along the paths they thread' (Ingold 2015b, 47). It is a knowledge produced through a process of plaiting diverse threads of experiences.

Conclusion

I have proposed in this chapter to understand walking as a way of touching the city. I argued that it allows us to highlight the sensory and reciprocal relationship walking creates with places, which produce a specific form of knowledge, I called—following Diaconu—‘tactile knowledge’. This is not an abstract knowledge, the knowledge you can get by reading papers, studies or novels about the city. Instead, it is embodied, having the particularity of being produced in the presence of other beings, things, events, and situations. That is a sensory presence and it can be thought as touching, as the person stretches out to the world, getting in contact with the surfaces of places. This is a reciprocal process in which as much as walkers touch places, places touch them in turn and walkers become part of the places they walk through.

I have depicted that participants’ ways of knowing the city are influenced by their pedestrian practices, even in those cases in which these are minimal. I have depicted the pedestrian sense of Santiago that emerges from the way people move by foot using the metaphors of plaited and dotted city. These metaphors help us to make sense of the role tactile knowledge plays in their broader relationship with the city. I suggest this role is related to the openness for finding and facing diversity—or ‘finding life’ using the words from Mara I quoted at the beginning of this thesis. These metaphors facilitate acknowledging the findings this chapter presents: that in both extremes of the socio-economic areas in Santiago there is a restriction of the tactile experience of the city, which demonstrates the kind of inequality that affects pedestrian practices: while some dwellers can choose to get less in touch with the city, others are deprived of a more intensive relationship due to confinement.

I argued that the subjective experience of the plaited city emerges from daily mobility practices that include walking and public transport, but as well the attitude of entering

into a more reciprocal sensory relationship with places. This attitude may contribute to a tactile knowledge of places even through other means such as the bike or the car (in opening the windows). Instead, the dotted city emerges from selective or more restricted relationships with places that create a sense of moving between dots corresponding to mobile practices in which the senses are not in a reciprocal relationship with places. The thicker or weaker the tactile knowledge of places created while moving around the city, may influence urban dwellers' bonds with the city and the representations they forge of it, which may impact in their actions towards it. This is relevant when those who normally do not walk are in positions of power and they are hardly present in the city by touching it, by reaching out to it. Talking about touching leads to ideas of living together and proximity. Even while, as we learn from works on spatial segregation, living together or 'spatial exposure does not equate in any simple way to social encounter' (Tonkiss 2013, 77), to live totally apart from other groups, as in the case of the self-segregation of the high-income groups, impacts by making invisible diverse realities and conditions: 'the spatial separation can normalise political disengagement, civil disregard and social abandonment' (Tonkiss 2013, 79). Having opportunities to get in touch with the diversity of the city is, at least, a first step that may help in not fully neglecting the lives of others. That is one of the roles pedestrian practices can play within urban life.

Conclusion

If walking is to find life, as Mara suggests, then in journeying through these seven chapters I hope you have been able to develop an encounter with the lived experiences of the participants of this research whose lives intermingled with mine for several months. Certainly, there are many stories to tell about how people walk in cities. Paradoxically, the universality of the practice tends to break it into infinite singularities (Solnit 2000, 3). Thus, the history of walking is composed of singular paces, singular bodies in singular places and times. The overarching challenge I have worked through in this thesis is to make sense of these singularities by finding connections and shared experiences in order to explore how general conditions of urban life intersect with the life of those who walk the city. If these seven chapters and their ‘investigations’ have led you to a destination, it is the intersection of the macro-scale of urban inequality processes and the micro-scale of walkers’ bodies and their everyday lived experiences.

I have structured this last stretch of the journey into three sections. The first gives a summary of the research; it synthesizes its background and main arguments, and it highlights what is novel in each of them. The second section emphasises important themes the thesis has raised that contribute both to academic debates as well as to practitioners’ fields such as urban and transport planning and urban design. It also states further questions and research directions emerging from the research. The last section seeks to make sense of this overall journey by remarking on the potential for exploring urban inequalities from the perspective of pedestrian practices.

8.1 Research Summary

8.1.1 Exploring Urban Inequality in Everyday Walking Practices

From the understanding of walking as a movement of the body that creates a sensory responsive relationship between walkers and places, the thesis explored how walkers were affected by and responded to conditions of urban inequality, specifically socio-spatial conditions. This contributes to academic work on walking by addressing the need to investigate walking beyond heroic idealizations of pedestrians and disrupt the homogeneity through which walking in the city has often been depicted in seminal works (see Edensor 1998, Latham 2003, Morris 2004, Middleton 2011b, Pinder 2011).

Following that vein, my work explored differences among experiences of everyday journeys by foot. It focused particularly on the more or less privileged ways of performing the practice of walking in the city. I described the lived experience of walkers living in different parts of Santiago de Chile, a city characterised by high levels of socio-economic inequality expressed in clear patterns of spatial segregation (Ducci 2000, 2004, Sabatini, Cáceres, and Cerda 2001, Sabatini and Salcedo 2005, Hidalgo 2005). My work also helps to diversify knowledge about urban walking in a context different from the European one that has traditionally addressed it. At the same time, I aimed to contribute to the debate on everyday mobilities outlined by Chilean academics during the last decade (see section 2.5.3), which has envisaged a mobile dimension of inequality but without paying specific attention to the role of walking and the particular ways urban dwellers experience the city through pedestrian practices.

8.1.2 Advancing a Politics of Urban Walking

My research explored Santiago's urban dwellers' walking experiences by undertaking ethnographic investigation. Drawing inspiration from Bissell's (2016) ideas, I depicted a micropolitics of everyday walking based on participants' stories and reflections. I tried to grasp in this the complexity of the practice as well as that of its urban context. Understanding everyday practices as a form of participation in places, one key argument of this micropolitical approach is that through walking people enter into fields of forces that enable or constrain their capacities for performing the practice of walking and, in the end, of experiencing the city.

Conceiving power as 'forces fields' (Gatt 2013) and paying attention to practitioners' capacities to sense and do while walking, I was able to distinguish two elements—rhythm and attention—that permit us to grasp transitions in walkers' bodily capacities. They highlight the responsive process through which walkers and socio-spatial conditions of places interact. Focusing on rhythm and attention to understand the power relationships at play when people walk favours making visible the creativity and negotiation of walkers when moving through places—their agency—but, without neglecting the action of more contextual and structural features of places. Therefore, I explored the intersection between urban inequality and walking practices by emphasising that it consists of a responsive relationship between walkers and their environment.

My thesis presents an original perspective by thinking walking practices through urban socio-economic inequality, that is a dimension that has not been specifically followed up by walking studies. For example, Middleton (2016, 4) pays attention to differences such as 'age, gender and socio-economic status'; however, she recognises a bias in her methodology considering that the people who participated in her research were mainly from higher educational backgrounds and income groups, which made it difficult to

address in full the socio-economic aspects of walkers' experiences. Furthermore, a political perspective on walking has been mainly focused on de Certeau's ideas about pedestrianism as an everyday practice of resistance to urban planning (Middleton 2016). My work advances reflections about walking politics by outlining a micropolitics of everyday walking based on a detailed ethnography through which I compared and made sense of different ways of practicing walking among women and men living in neighbourhoods of contrasting socio-economic conditions.

8.1.3 Addressing Research Questions

The thesis outlined a pedestrian micropolitics by progressively describing and comparing urban dwellers' experiences, answering throughout the four empirical chapters my research questions. The thesis starts by describing research participants' singular engagements with places focusing on materials and affectivities; then, it reflects about how conditions of places are experienced by participants by comparing their ways of enacting rhythm and attention; and finally, using the metaphors of 'dotted city' and 'plaited city', it reflects about the kind of tactile knowledge produced by everyday walking practices and its role within the broader relationship of urban dwellers with the city.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on walkers' relationships with the materials of places and on the emerging affectivities of walking through them. These two chapters work together in answering the second of my research questions about how the unequal distribution of materials and affectivities across different socio-economic areas of Santiago enable or constrain dwellers' bodily capacities for performing everyday walking practices. They have the purpose of building the context to tackle my first research question about urban inequality and everyday walking practices later in chapter 6. These two chapters distinguished key socio-spatial conditions unequally distributed across the city, such as the presence of greenery and garbage and the possibility of walking safely and with a sense

of continuity, that influence the experience of walking and processes of place-making. Regarding the materials research participants encounter, the novelty of my argument consists in noticing that one relevant issue for them, besides the sensory experience, is the social relationships within which materials are enmeshed and walkers participate in through them. In terms of affectivities, I could distinguish that there are basic affectivities that allow walkers to perform more diverse pedestrian practices and to embody more varied feelings and emotions throughout their journeys.

While chapters 4 and 5 were dedicated to exploring the socio-spatial conditions of pedestrian journeys, chapter 6 turned to the other side of this relationship: walkers' responses to the conditions and situations of places. It does so by focusing on two elements of walkers' bodily experience: rhythm and attention. In that way, I addressed my first research question about how are everyday walking practices affected by and how do they respond to unequal socio-spatial conditions in Santiago. Wondering what varied in the bodily experience of walkers when they experienced different material and affective conditions while walking, I observed that rhythm and attention were particularly responsive to the situations my research participants encountered walking. In this chapter I developed this micropolitical account of walking by using rhythm and attention as fundamental elements that allow us to explore the relationships between walkers' experiences and conditions of inequality, grasping transitions of power in everyday experiences (changes in walkers' capacities to do and sense). One important outcome of the chapter is to propose a more concrete way of describing pedestrian situations by focusing on variations of rhythm and attention (I explore more implications of this in section 8.2.2).

The last component for describing this pedestrian micropolitics was related to the third research question. I delved into the implications of everyday walking practices in the

production of a broader sense of the city. Conceiving walking as a form of touching the city permitted me to grasp better the specificities of pedestrian movement and the kind of knowledge of places it produces. Observing that in Santiago possibilities for experiencing a 'plaited' city are more likely among urban dwellers living in middle-income areas, gave me a way for challenging one common way of narrating socio-economic inequality that simply understands that more resources and better socio-spatial conditions equate to better experiences in the city. Instead, I showed how in Santiago high and low-income areas are both less likely to foster a tactile participation in places. In high-income areas residents tend to perform more selective everyday pedestrian practices and in low-income areas, more restricted ones.

This an important feature this research brings into focus. It allows us to reflect about the relational nature of urban inequality: it is not only about how we redistribute resources, it is also about how we relate to each other and what kinds of practices enable us to get in touch with the others with whom we happen to share the city. In high-income neighbourhoods people isolate themselves not only from other parts of the city, but they relate rarely with their neighbours too. Walking for most of my research participants living in this area was not a relevant practice of their everyday lives. In lower-income areas, participants knew their neighbourhood better; however, places are more difficult to negotiate and be exposed to; they also have less opportunities to travel to other parts of the city, all of which constrains their everyday pedestrian experiences. As a result, in both extremes, sensory participation in the city weakens: either by choice or by restriction it is less diverse. This appreciation leads us to question what kind of resource everyday walking is. Exploring this question may contribute to an understanding of how privilege and the public dimension are organised in cities, which is one of the further lines of investigation my research opens.

8.2 Research Implications

8.2.1 An Ethnographic Perspective of Urban Processes

Together with contributing to specific research on walking practices, this thesis adds to the overall task of thinking urban processes, such as urban inequality, by providing a detailed perspective that takes into account the point of view of city dwellers and their everyday experiences. It reflects particularly about the relationships between urban features such as material and affective conditions of places—both expressions of macro forces such as the city's politics and policies—and inhabitants' everyday experiences on foot. In doing this, it shows how the simple fact of going out by foot is a practice composed as much by micro events, bodily perceptions and actions as by structural conditions that produce urban space. To better understand what walking is about, its role in cities and what is played out in pedestrian situations, we need to consider both scales the micro and the macro, as my research questions emphasise.

In this sense, my work has taken seriously ideas, such as those of anthropologists Jackson and Rapport I quote in the introduction, that encourage us to explore the interplay between social structures and individuals' everyday experiences (see section 1.3). By doing this my work fits the investigative line of urban ethnographers that have previously worked in Latin America and used detailed ethnographic descriptions in looking for ways of comprehending life in the city. Among them we can count Setha Low (2000, 127) who has researched the relationship between public spaces and urban dwellers by highlighting that anthropology should reflect on social forces that produce spaces and, at the same time, on the human agency that construct spaces by reflecting about these forces 'in the experience of daily life of individuals'. A similar effort has been accomplished by James Holston (1989) for the case of Brasilia. He uses ethnographic research for exploring its architectural modernist plan and the politics and policies that created Brasilia from

scratch. He is especially concerned about the effects of this process on dwellers' day to day lives. Finally, I can also mention the impressive work of Emilio Duhau and Angela Giglia (2008) that, even though not a full ethnography, uses mixed qualitative and quantitative methods in order to make sense of the experience of Mexico City. By deploying the concept of 'disorder' critically, they reflect on how urban dwellers experience inequality, segregation and public space. In this context, my work can be envisaged within this line of scholarship that seeks to make sense of life in the city by trying to close the gap between detailed descriptions and structural processes. Mine is an ethnography of walking as well as an ethnography of urban inequality and spatial segregation in Santiago.

What distinguishes my work is that the ethnography I crafted is focused on describing the phenomenology of one specific practice. The micropolitics of waking I have depicted investigates very particular situations in the lives of the thirteen research participants and it is from their stories that I raised reflections on socio-spatial inequality in Santiago. Talking about Santiago from the experience of just thirteen people is ambitious and by no means do I claim my findings are 'representative' of how it is to walk in Santiago. However, I believe in the potential of using these detailed descriptions as analytical tools for making sense of how people negotiate the city and its conditions in their day to day lives.

In her study about Costa Rican *plazas*, Low (2000) argues that this type of public space is crucial for 'any kind of democratic politics' and that historical and ethnographic accounts are capable of showing clearly the relevance of these places. My work extends these ideas to the street and it establishes an association between diversity in public spaces and walking. This link has been recognised by Holston in his study about Brasilia in which he ethnographically explores a city without streets (only roads for motorized traffic) and with large public spaces that seem just 'empty' spaces since they are not connected and they do not constitute pedestrian routes. The result of a city in which walking is not possible is the

privatization of quotidian activities: either people do not go out or they pay for places to do things, such as clubs in the case of Brasilia. While his work highlights the role of streets in cities, my work digs deeper into the fact that not every street affords similar opportunities to be performed within a socio-economically segregated city. As much as recognising the importance of streets as infrastructures that allocate vital encounters for sociality in cities, I pay attention to the conditions and situations that take place in those spaces, how they express Santiago's socio-economic inequality, and inhabitants' responses to those conditions.

One relevant finding of my work that comes out from taking this ethnographic perspective is acknowledging a relation between everyday walking and middle-income areas. It seems that a stronger practice of walking (more versatile and habitual) is a sort of a prerogative of middle-income areas that normally allocate diverse places, services and activities. In this way, more consolidated practices of everyday walking are related to the diversity of places (uses, people services, etc.). In chapter 7, I suggested that a differentiated pedestrian relationship with the city emerges in relation to socio-economic conditions and the level of segregation of places: it is more likely to perform a more diverse and habitual practice of walking for those inhabitants living in middle-income areas who also tend to use public transport more. This is an interesting fact if we think that walking practices tend to diminish in their quality or/and quantity in those more segregated neighbourhoods (either the wealthier or poorer). In simple terms and connecting my work with Holston's that also reflects on spatial segregation, it seems that more segregated spaces, either as a result of free-market politics as in the case of Santiago, or as a result of a functional modernist urban policy as in the case of Brasilia, end up by constraining pedestrian practices and experiences. Life in streets or in 'public spaces' diminishes. Walking appears to be associated with streets or spaces that can allocate a diversity of uses and people. In that sense, my work agrees with some conclusions developed by Holston about social life

and spatial segregation. He says that 'lacking "public encounters of the third kind," social life oscillates unremittingly between work and residence' (1989, 163). In other words, social life is confined to private spaces.

My work, thus, contributes to thinking further about the role of walking in cities. It highlights its capacity for facilitating sociality. While sociality is more complex than having the opportunity of encountering other people, it is clear that it is more probable if at least urban infrastructures permit those encounters. The thesis, that has revolved around how the practice of everyday walking occurs by contrasting experiences across the city, shows how central areas and more mixed-use neighbourhoods are those through which people tend to develop richer practices of everyday walking. Everyday walking, in turn, permits the cultivation of a more tactile relationship with the city which is manifested in my participants' stories about the city which were full of details in the case of those who walked more often on an everyday basis.

The achievement of taking this ethnographic perspective, then, is to provide a detailed account that not only looks at place specific dynamics of everyday life and the micropolitics of pedestrian practices, but also sheds light on the broader neoliberal politics and policies that shape the configuration of Santiago. It produces in-depth perspectives on what a segregated city implies for urban dwellers in terms of their possibilities for experiencing the city and performing walking as a resource for their day to day routines. In that sense, it helps us to further develop the tradition within urban ethnography that has assumed the challenge of using insights from everyday life to explore more structural urban processes.

8.2.2 Implications for Santiago's Case

The main implication for Santiago's case that comes out from my work is that in a city organised by neoliberal precepts where private spaces and services are synonymous with what is considered to be 'good quality' and public spaces and services are generally seen as what is left for those who cannot pay for something better, walking may present an opportunity to revitalise the meaning of the commons. In other words, my work could be translated into this question: what kind of resource is everyday walking for a city such as Santiago? At least from considering the experiences of my thirteen research participants, I can suggest it is a resource that puts value into public spaces. In that sense, it is a resource that—if encouraged in connection with ideas of encounters and diversity—could help to improve porosity in the segregated and neoliberal city.

In terms of the contributions of my work to Santiago's policy-making, the knowledge my thesis produces connects with current interests of policy makers. Walking is slowly getting more attention at both state and municipal level. For example, in 2015 the *comuna* of Santiago (city-centre) presented a master plan setting priorities for organising the urban mobility of the *comuna*. It contemplated putting walkers, cyclists and public transport first. Moreover, while doing my fieldwork, I was invited to an interdisciplinary meeting held in the Ministry of Transport to start taking the role of walking seriously in the context of transport planning and management. Slowly, walking is being recognised as a mode of transport that needs specific attention and measures that guarantee basic conditions for pedestrians and that permits the correction of the unequal status of walkers compared with the rest of transport modes and practices.

The findings of the empirical chapters help policy-makers and local governments to go beyond the functional logic they normally use to understand the relationship between streets and walkers. Nicholas Blomley (2011) has identified this logic that most engineers

and policy makers enact when designing and planning streets as 'pedestrianism'. His research was undertaken in Canada, a context of urban planning and management that differs greatly from the Chilean one. However, some traits of this logic can be traced in the Chilean case among those who work in governmental offices in charge of urban projects that affect sidewalks. Blomley explains this logic conceives that all objects, including human bodies, are subjected to the same principles of 'placement and flow'. Those are the principles that should be prioritised in planning and managing streets. This logic flattens, then, the political or social aspects of what occurs in the street. Blomley also acknowledges the different logic enacted by academics who tend to think about streets and sidewalks from a more political perspective considering them as 'public spaces'. Most of my research participants highlighted they value flow (continuity), but at the same time many of them, those who walked often in their everyday routines and through diverse places, valued the possibility social contact walking affords, even at the cost of sacrificing some flow. Thus, my work contributes to shortening the gap between these two viewpoints by considering urban dwellers' reflections that tend to mix both the more functional needs and the political aspects of being able to walk.

Specifically, chapters 4, 5 and 6 give hints that may help new thinking for improving the experience of walking in Santiago from its consideration as a social practice. From chapter 4 we learn how research participants strongly valued walking through places that take care of them by means of the quality and presence of valued materials. They highlighted in particular greenery as a material that creates benign synergies and garbage as a material that makes them feel out of place, careless and not belonging. This shows that urban design and policies intervening in pedestrian infrastructures may be benefited by considering this: the social relationships materials that conform places help to create. This can also suggest alternatives to creating effective policies and interventions even when economic resources are not abundant. For example, I could identify a

welcoming/unwelcoming logic research participants express when appreciating places that may help thinking about how to build and maintain places people walk through. In the case of greenery, what participants valued was the sense of life, of being accompanied, of being cared and of shelter that tended vegetation gives them. Most of them highlighted that they did not need a spectacular display of vegetation but presence of certain cultivated or cared green elements to make a place feel welcoming. Acknowledging these relationships offer more alternatives for practitioners when planning and intervening in places.

In the same vein, chapter 5 identifies key senses from participants' reflections about their affectivities while walking. Most of them valued being able to perform a creative practice for which basic senses of safety and continuity were needed. This understanding of walking as more than a transport mode but also as a flexible practice of everyday life that can serve multiple purposes in the same journey can inform innovative policies. It suggests attending to subtler elements such as ambiances in places and flowing dynamics as part of the infrastructures that make walking possible.

Finally, ideas developed in chapter 6 suggest that descriptions of variations in rhythm and attention can be used as diagnosis tools for places' conditions of walking. Describing rhythms and attention of walkers provides a perspective on how places work by focusing on the responsiveness of walkers which allows us to grasp the negotiations between what affects walkers and how they deal with that. This can help practitioners and planners to perceive problematic situations or opportunities not revealed otherwise. It can also shape new imaginations for coming up with original solutions that do not require vast economic resources to improve the quality of places for pedestrians, as the emphasis is on how walkers can perform a variety of rhythms and direct their attention in ways they respond to their needs and wills. This could be of great value especially in lower income *comunas*,

as a way of providing better environments for walking without expensive interventions that then requires costly maintenance.

8.2.3 The Outcomes and Limitations of a Reflective Methodology

My ethnographic work constitutes one of the strengths of my thesis as it has allowed me to engage in close relationships with the thirteen participants. The different activities we undertook together—walking, talking, watching videos, cutting and gluing—allowed me to approach their experiences of walking and to learn about their relationship with the city from their subjective perspectives. I consciously decided to combine discursive techniques such as interviews with activities that played with the images and video-recordings of their experiences, trying to build a way to ‘go back’ many times and in different ways to our experiences of walking. Through these activities, the participants could also reflect about their own experiences, which was one of the aims of my methodological approach. It was from this shared process of reflection that many of the arguments I presented emerged. In that sense, the ‘interview-workshop’ I put into practice showed the potential of mixing activities and of doing things (reviewing videos, reading montages, crafting collages) to elicit and explore less representational experiences of everyday life.

One dimension my methodology could not cover was the more intimate reflection about walking practices. All the reflections of my participants were made within my presence. At the beginning of the fieldwork, I tried to apply ‘diary methods’ (Zimmerman and Wieder 1977, Latham 2003, Lee and Ingold 2006, Middleton 2009) to find out more about my participants’ more intimate appreciations of their experiences. However, the three participants with whom I tried this, struggled in finding a time to write and about what to write. Perhaps the use of an alternative form of oral recorded notes (whether in situ while

walking or after the walk) instead of writing would work better especially in the Chilean context.

The interview-workshop technique opens up questions to follow in terms of reflexivity and participatory research. Using techniques such as different kinds of elicitation and art practices not only allows us to explore less discursive memories, experiences or perceptions, but to create a commonality between the researcher and the research participant that fosters a more horizontal relationship. These techniques give space to research participants to propose perspectives in a more active way than limiting them to answering the researcher's questions. One interesting aspect to explore would be if the researcher took a more of an active role in these activities. I wonder what would have happened if I had created my own collages together with the research participants. Another possibility to explore would be to ask participants to choose or even to propose the methodological activities to pursue in workshop-interview sessions. In that sense, the research process could be closer to participatory research in which the researcher is not the only one taking the guiding decisions of the process (Back and Sinha 2018, 175).

I could deploy only partially my interest in inviting my research participants to hold a more participative role. I emphasise that the knowledge I present is co-produced, which means to acknowledge the prominence of the voices of my participants in shaping the thesis' arguments. However, I could not set up an explicit collaborative process in which arguments and writing were systematically negotiated with research participants. I could ask some of them, through email or WhatsApp, about some ideas I was having while writing and have their feedback. Nevertheless, it was not a systematic practice. In the initial stages of the fieldwork I evaluated this possibility but I decided it would be too demanding for a lone researcher and I doubted my capability to accomplish it without the possibility of coming back to Chile in the middle of the writing process. More financial

and time resources are needed to engage in a more collaborative process, that may consist in carrying out periodic discussions about the arguments and crafting the outcomes of the research together with the participants. Furthermore, an issue that needs to be addressed according to each research context is that a participatory research process may be too demanding for the research participants.

Finally, my intensive and detailed approach, at the same time, perhaps frame one of the limitations of my work: how representative it is of the whole experience of walking in Santiago de Chile. I compensated for this limitation by adopting a comparative approach that permitted me to look for concordances and divergences within participants' experiences and reflections. This made it possible to tackle broader debates of urban studies such as inequality. In that sense, relying on particular cases did not impede me from addressing general academic discussions. It is my hope this investigation can foster further research that keeps the loop of the themes I have exposed here from a similarly detailed and personal experience. In this way, the debate will not only consist of our academic voices and creativity but also those of other people outside the academy who think about the world in insightful ways which may help us to diversify our knowledge.

8.2.4 New Questions and Further Research

This thesis shows the potentials of exploring macro issues such as 'urban inequality' from the perspective of everyday life. It gives insights of crucial experiences that enable and constrain pedestrian practices. This perspective nourishes the more general perspectives on urban life that focus on politics and policies. From following this path, I have come out with interesting insights that allows us to think about inequality not just as an abstract condition but as embodied situations. This is central in acknowledging unequal situations that are only revealed when attending to the quality of the experiences urban dwellers have of urban places. It helps to reveal subtler unjust and exclusionary effects of our social

systems and it makes our intellectual task of thinking critically more pertinent and useful. Furthermore, focusing on everyday life and practices allows us to grasp the interconnection of forces that we tend to analyse separately: the economic, the political, the cultural, etc. It makes possible the creation of a phenomenological and ecological perspective that benefits the comprehension of how we live in cities.

Nevertheless, every piece of research leaves uncovered issues that offer opportunities to develop future research projects. In the case of everyday walking, practices are full of particularities and differences that are relevant to study further and deeper such as gender, age, bodily abilities, ethnicity, etc. The concepts I have used here to describe a micropolitics of walking such as enablement, constraint, bodily capacities, rhythm and attention may be useful to study other sources of inequality such as these.

Gender poignantly appeared throughout my analysis. I addressed it in chapters 4 and 7 dedicated to pedestrians' affectivities and pedestrian knowledge of the city, respectively. However, I could not consider it in detail and it is definitely a subject that needs investigation, especially in the current Chilean situation where there is a fruitful context of gender awareness consolidating. Issues about gender equality and the use and experience of public spaces are gaining attention. This sets an exciting arena for developing further a gender approach to urban walking in Chilean cities. My research brings out some relevant points apart from the well-known subject of fear and risk women experience in public spaces. For example, many of the female research participants recognised that some of their everyday walks provide them with moments of intimacy and emotional relief. Some of them acknowledged enjoying window shopping or slowing down their pace when they were walking alone perhaps after leaving the kids at school or going back home after work. Many of them talked about an intimacy they did not have at home, even while those were everyday purposive trajectories not primarily oriented to enjoyment

or restoration. Furthermore, some of the female participants that used the car as their main means of transport also talked about the intimacy of journeying alone. These observations suggest an interesting research strand on everyday mobility and intimacy and gender.

I left out less attended other inequalities enacted in pedestrian journeys in the city such as those concerning ethnic identities. The way physical attributes, such as how 'white, blond, tall and thin' you are, condition possibilities for walking in certain spaces in Santiago. It makes others assume that this person belongs to the privileged group. On contrary, being 'brown and short' projects strong ideas about belonging to disadvantaged groups. Both phenotypes have an impact on where you are allowed to walk and how. Because I was studying segregation and everyday journeys, the discriminations related to ethnicity and bodily appearance did not emerge strongly within my work. However, this is an important line to follow. It is connected with current problematics and interests since immigration from other South American countries is growing in Santiago and these stereotypes linked to ethnicity are played out in public spaces and they are creating novel dynamics of exclusion and discrimination.

A remarkable matter to follow further is the contrasting and competing conceptions about walking. This could help develop the understanding of the role urban walking plays and could potentially play in cities and how power relationships mediate this role. People generally value walking as a healthy and sustainably way of moving but, at the same time, those in positions of power and privilege tended to choose not to walk in their everydayness. What does walking imply when it is not an appealing everyday practice for wealthier groups? I have suggested a link between walking and public space and public transport that does not fit the way privileged people pursue their everyday activities. They normally depend on private spaces and private modes of transport. However, together

with this, there is evidence from younger wealthier groups and/or well-educated backgrounds who value urban lifestyles: they value being able to walk or to cycle to places and to enjoy the city while doing it. Some central areas of Santiago are going through processes of gentrification (Inzulza-Contardo 2016) and possibilities for having pleasant walks to restaurants, stores or places of interest appears to increase places' vibrancy and marketability. It would be interesting to research further these new ideas about walking younger wealthier groups are developing. Moreover, investigation of how different practices and notions of walking coexist within the same socio-economic group and across them may contribute to tell other stories about urban walking and inequality. It may help, specifically, to be more critical towards romanticized ideas about walking as it draws attention towards the conditions that make possible walking practices to be (or not) practices of exposition and encounter with others.

Another finding that could open future research is the relevance participants give to experiencing care when they walk through places, either because places seem to be taken care of by others or due to walkers' feelings of being taken care of when walking through well-maintained places. This finding concurs with some new trends in spatial design and planning that are developing a perspective of care (see Bates, Imrie, and Kullman 2016). The descriptions about how it is to walk in Santiago I presented here, suggest to urban and policy designers to conceive their work as a task of curating places (in the sense of taking care of them), complementing aesthetical criteria with a more relational perspective. Places' conditions participate in the life of human and non-human beings. This consideration highlights the need for taking into account the life-course places go through after being built and their agency on users, instead of focusing only on their projected form. These ideas may be interesting for making strategies of improvement that are cost-effective as simple modifications could improve how places take care of walkers and make them feel safer, which can help transform the way they engage with places. It

could be fruitful to think within the process of designing and planning that places walk with and through people.

Finally, my work also shows the relevancy and the need for exploring innovative ways for researching life in cities. I showed the potential of including less discursive ways of exploring lived experience. I mostly used the possibilities of visual representations and elicitation. I also showed the richness of more horizontal and participatory relationships with research participants. However, I did not explore how to pay more specific attention to other senses different from sight. More experimentation should be done to be able to work with other sensorial registers such as the olfactory, auditory or tactile. They could give valuable insight into how inequality is experienced. They could potentiate new stories about the embodied effects of neoliberal politics and policies in Santiago, which is crucial in raising awareness about the unjust conditions many people deal with in the city. My thesis makes this invitation by positing experimental and participatory strategies as one key way for the creation of more engaging research methods that allow these new stories to be told.

8.3 Final Remark: Thinking Urban Inequality through Walking

My work opens an opportunity to rethink the way we understand moving through urban places. I have conceived walking as a way of being in the world, mobilising phenomenological ideas (see section 2.2). This notion has been reaffirmed by experiences of the fieldwork in which research participants described their engagement and relation with places in that way as well. Walkers are constantly becoming places and helping to create them. These ideas shed light on the debate around urban inequality. Describing walking as a transformative practice of exposition (see section 6.1.2) that affords walkers to 'become places', points at the relationship of sensory involvement and reciprocity walkers establish with places. This conception of what happens when we walk invites us

to consider that the inequality entailed in urban dwellers' ways of moving across the city operates not only in relation to their access to places but in the way they participate in them.

In a segregated city such as Santiago people live separately but also move in segregated ways recreating socio-economic inequality: there are privileged ways of moving regarding efficiency, comfortability and decision-making (see section 7.4). From the perspective of walking: we participate in places when we move. Therefore, the problem with moving through the city in segregated modes, some more privileged than others, is not only that some people are relegated to less pleasant experiences and lose access to the city. By walking less and through exclusive areas urban dwellers also stop participating in common places. A political effect follows: segregated lived experiences of the city end up pushing us all apart. We, urban dwellers, start to experience a world in which some inhabitants of the city do not exist, in both directions of the socio-economic spectrum. We lose the ability to respond towards the places we inhabit, because we tend to forget what is not in our everyday sensory threshold, what is not present. The pedestrian micropolitics I have outlined shows that there is an urban inequality related to the kinds of lived experiences people are able to have through feeling part of places and relating with others. There is an urban inequality that expresses itself in the ways urban dwellers can participate in places (or not) which means the way they can become the places they walk through in their everyday life.

Finally, inequality is a judgement we make about unjust production of differences or unjust outcomes based on them (Béteille 2002, 1019). Walkers come to know about power relationships of urban life through their involvement with places. Through walking they experience and reach a knowledge of the lived dimension of urban inequality such as in Santiago, a city that sets people apart according to their incomes. The different conditions

under which people practice everyday walking and the different and unequal tactile knowledge of the city pedestrian practices create, help to make up and reinforce these segregated urban worlds. My concern is that without practices that allow us to participate and create common places of presence, understanding the most relevant conditions for social life to be possible become difficult: that we live together sharing the same city and, ultimately, our practices and actions affect the others with whom we live. I hope my thesis can contribute to raising this kind of awareness.

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Appendix 1. Interview-Workshop Open Questions

These are the guiding set of questions that framed some of the conversations I sustained with the research participants during the interview-workshop sessions. Questions about walking were addressed in a conversation in the first of the series of sessions. Questions about their perceptions of Santiago and about shoes were addressed in the last session, after having completed all the activities. This is the translation from the original set of questions in Spanish.

About Walking

- a. Do you consider yourself as belonging to a specific socio-economic group?
- b. How do you normally move through the city? Which is your normal way of getting places?
- c. Personal pedestrian history:
How has been the experience of walking throughout your life? Do you remember yourself walking as a kid/youngster? Do you remember walking with your parents or seeing them walking? Do you remember any period in your life when you needed to walk more often or did not walk at all? How has your pedestrian practice changed throughout your life?
- d. Do you like walking? Do you actively try to walk in your everyday life?
- e. When is walking a pleasant/unpleasant experience? What places do you like the most? What places do you not like at all?
- f. Do you think walking is a resource within your everyday life? Does it help you in some way or serve any purpose to you? What is the value of walking for you?
- g. What are the positives/negatives about your current experience of walking?
- h. Do you avoid walking in certain situations, places, times of the day, etc.?
- i. Have you experienced walking as the only option to move across the city?
- j. From your actual experience/practice of walking, is there anything you would like to change or to be different? The features of the places you walk, or the situations in which you need to walk, your routine, the frequency, the distances (...)?
- k. Would you like to walk more? Or less?
- l. Do you think owning a car (or private means of transport) is a privilege?
- m. [In case they do not have a car] Do you think you would stop walking or change your practice if you owned a car?

[In case they have a car] Do you think your way of moving everyday would change if you did not owned a car?

About Santiago

- a. Do you like Santiago?
- b. What places in the city do you often move through? (whether walking or by other means of transport)
- c. Do you like walking in Santiago?
- d. Which is the favourite of your journeys on foot in Santiago? Which one do you not like so much? Why? Can you describe it?
- e. In your opinion, what is needed to improve the experience of walking in Santiago?
- f. Do you have good feelings about the city? Do you 'love' it? Do you 'hate' it? What kind of feelings and sensations does the city provoke in you?

About Shoes

- a. When you buy shoes, do you consider whether they are comfortable enough to walk?
- b. Do you have shoes that, when you use them, you avoid walking too much because they are not comfortable enough?
- c. Is there any occasion within your everyday life when you are forced to use uncomfortable shoes (work, going out, etc.)?
- d. Do you remember any story about walking and shoes (such as painful walks, etc.)?

Appendix 2. Descriptive Lines Samples

What follows are two examples of the 'descriptive lines' I produced to analyse the materials that could be observed in the video registers of the research participants' journeys. I produced one of these pieces for every registered journey, whether on foot, bike or car.

Trinidad

03/12/2015

To the church

7pm

Recorded time: 12'03" (going) + 06'32" (back)

Situation: Trinidad is going to the church in the evening. She has been working all afternoon at her home sewing shower curtains for a factory. She is not hired to do that job, it is an informal agreement; therefore, she never knows if she will have work to do because they just bring her the curtains when they need it. Anyway, she stops working to go to the church. She has had a lot of work in recent days and she has not been able to attend any 'Mary's Month' ceremonies catholic people celebrate from the 8th of November to the 8th of December, meeting every afternoon to pray the rosary. It is a warm almost summer night and you can sense that 'end of the year' air (school holidays are coming, there are people on the street sitting, talking, some of them are selling things for Christmas, it is warm).

Starting and destination point: From Trinidad's home to the church and back.

The church is located near her house. It takes around five minutes to get there.

Trinidad's body: She is using her normal clothing: leggings and a long-sleeve t-shirt. Flat shoes and no bag. She tidies up her work place a little bit before going out. She takes her little purse, the keys and two cigarettes that she shows me with a look of complicity. We light the cigarettes just after closing the door and we walk to the church.

Descriptive lines

[00:01:35] Going out: narrow walkway – trees - three storey buildings - discoloured and worn off paint - metal fences - hanging clothes - street cables - sun light reflecting on upper floors walls - singing birds - traffic sounds

[00:01:51] As we reach the street: metal fences and informal structures with a metal roof over the sidewalk - long wall tagged with messy graffiti (factory) - mix of concrete utility poles with street light and metal street light poles - dirt verge road with dried weeds - bus stop tagged with messy graffiti -

blue sky - the top of factory's trees can be seen - cracked sidewalk - parked cars on the road verge - singing birds - traffic sounds - a lot of people walking on the street - little wrappers and some garbage on the road verge - little local shops (the little entrance of the first floor apartment transformed in a shop) - dogs - trees on the flat's first floor gardens - a little *animita* in the other side of the street - children voices - people selling things in an improvised stand at one of the walkway entrances (two women and some kids playing around) - big *animita* cutting the sidewalk in the other side of the street - mural artwork (landscape) part of the *animita* - warm afternoon sunlight reflecting on roofs - couple of people walking on the road - old man smoking sat at the next walkway entrance - couple of trees on the road verge - two men talking at the next walkway entrance, saying good bye - from time to time no traffic sounds; calm, only singing birds and children voices - local shop at the corner of the main street, settled on a first floor apartment; it has a roof covering the sidewalk creating a kind of tunnel over the sidewalk - A-boards - advertisements hanging from utility poles - street name signs drawn with graffiti tags - graffiti tags on house walls on the other side of the street - dogs sleeping on the sidewalk - bus stop tagged with messy graffiti - people waiting at the bus stop - well painted zebra crossing - metal road barriers on the corner - traffic sound - people's voices

[00:07:14] We cross the street, we leave behind the three storey buildings of the complex and we enter into a neighbourhood of one storey houses: house walls written with religious messages ('The mundane and its desires will pass but the one who follows God's will stay for ever...') - dirt road verges with skinny trees - children playing on the street - people (kids and grown-ups riding bikes) - children voices - singing birds - bikes engine sounds - green houses gardens but most of the houses have walls closing the front gardens - clean sidewalk - cracked sidewalk - concrete utility pole with street light - ordered street cables - calm residential street - people walking on the road - school - local shops (front of houses transformed in shops) - man washing the car on the street - written wall ("chanchi cosita te amo") - A-boards - clean houses' walls - wooden fences - church

Coming back from the church: we cross the fences - Trinidad walks accompanied by a friend - the sun has gone - deep blue sky - twilight - shadows - street lights - street cables - parked cars all over the street (on one side and over the road verge) - sidewalk in bad conditions, mix of concrete and dirt - A-boards advertisements - small local stores - posters hanging from utility poles (people offering services like plumbers) - traffic sounds - people's voices - road barriers on the corner - poles are painted in black and white (which shows this is a Colo-Colo football team territory) - dirt road verge with a few trees - trees branches showing up from behind the factory wall - we keep walking on the complex of houses side in front Trinidad's social housing flats complex - walls of different materials: concrete, fences, pressed wool; often marked with a graffiti tag - barking dog - bus stop painted with messy graffiti tags - we cross the street; we cannot keep walking on this side of the street because the huge *animita* that blocks the way - black fences enclosing the social housing flats complex - many people passing by walking on the street - trees showing up from flats gardens - parked cars - wrappers

and some garbage thrown on the road verge - street light - dogs on the street - people still sailing things at the walkway entrance in improvised stands - people sat next to the stands: women, young couple with a baby, a kid running and playing all over the place - people's voices - baby stroller - traffic sounds - old abandoned cars parked on flats back yards - factory wall painted with a mix of mural art and messy graffiti - sidewalk in very bad conditions, with cracks and huge pot holes - bus stop painted with messy graffiti tags - two young men standing on Trinidad's house walkway entrance;

[00:05:25] I feel uncomfortable recording so I hide my camera - loud traffic sounds as we reach the big street - street light - deep blue sky - singing birds - street cables.

I stop recording when we pass by her home. She invites me for tea (*once*) but I feel it is too late and soon it will be dark, so I prefer to leave. She walks me to the bus stop and waits there with me until I get the bus.

Overall sense: It was a quiet summer afternoon. I felt a vibrant street life with a lot of people walking, kids on the street and people selling things. However, the situation was far from being perfect: people were walking fast coming back home; people on the street were probably there because they did not have enough space in their homes; people sold things because they needed the money. So, it was a nice sensation of street life that has a perverse origin in the 'lack' of space, income, time. But the sense was still relaxing and Trinidad agreed with me on that. Actually, she transmitted it to me. From time to time I felt some odd glances on me, I think because of the little recording device I carried or because neighbours did not know me beforehand.

Antonio

11/02/2016

To the university campus; to the work place

10 am

Recorded time: 74' 19''

Situation: Our first journey together is on bike, which is Antonio's daily means of transport. We start from the house of one of his friends. Antonio is taking care of the house while his friend and his family are away on a holiday trip. The house is located in the same *comuna* Antonio lives, 30 minutes walking away from his home. Before going to his habitual work place at the university in the city centre, he needs to stop by in a different university campus (in the south part of the city) and pick up some samples from the laboratory. It is the first time he goes to this campus on his bike, so we will make a new route. After picking the samples up, we head to the city centre. It is a sunny day in February. It is the month of the summer people use to take holidays.

Starting point: Pdte. Batlle y Ordoñez and Av. Irarrázaval (his friend's home) in *comuna* of Ñuñoa.

Stop: Universidad Católica Campus in *comuna* of Macul.

Destination point: Universidad Católica Central House, *comuna* of Santiago Centro.

Antonio's body: He is wearing espadrilles, sun glasses and light backpack. He puts his bike helmet on after few minutes of riding. He also uses bike gloves.

[00:03:22]

In quite streets or when he feels confident enough, he rides the bike without hands, looks around him and touches branches of trees or bushes.

Descriptive Lines

(Before starting our journey, we talk about the route we will make; he asks if we need to talk along the route; I say we do not need to do it, that he can ride as he usually does and I will follow him).

GOING TO CAMPUS SAN JOAQUÍN UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA

[00:00:51]

leafy trees both sides of the street - shades - green and thick grass on sidewalks - clear street name signs - parked cars - road pavement in good conditions - singing birds - clean walls - metal fences - mix of concrete poles with light and street lamps (globes) - wooden fences - mix of houses and apartment buildings - green front gardens - quiet traffic

[00:01:41] ... as we get closer to Irarrázaval (big street):

less presence of trees - heavier traffic - more parked cars - construction sounds - construction work signs and barriers - more street cables

[00:02:13] after passing Irarrázaval green and quiet come back: green and thick grass on sidewalks - benches on sidewalks - leafy trees both sides of the street - shades - clean walls - big houses - green front gardens - metal and wooden fences - road pavement in good conditions - construction sounds - singing birds - quiet traffic - few parked cars - clear street name signs - clear traffic signs

[00:03:49] we turned into a busier street: constant traffic sounds - leafy trees both sides of the street - shades - grass on sidewalks - road pavement in good conditions - clean walls - graffiti - metal and wooden fences - clear street name signals - mix of big houses and apartment buildings - green front gardens

[00:04:25] we talk during a red light about what we will do next with the video recordings.

[00:04:55] crossing Macul Avenue: a couple of schools and nurseries - road pavement in less good conditions - bare soil on sidewalks around the corners

After crossing, spots of bare soil on sidewalks keep appearing but generally all the elements remain the same, more or less: constant traffic sounds of vehicles passing by - leafy trees both sides of the street - shades - generally grass on sidewalks but spots of bare soil from time to time - good road pavement - clean walls - graffiti - metal and wooden fences - clear street name signals - street pavement in good conditions - mix of big houses and apartment buildings - green front gardens - mix of concrete poles with light and street lamps (globes) - more people walking on the street - car radio sound (during red light)

[00:06:55] we turn left into a similar street: road pavement good conditions – well-maintained sidewalks: mix of bare soil and grass - mix of big houses and apartment buildings - green front gardens - clear street name signs - clear traffic signs - tidy garbage bins - leafy trees both sides of the street - shades - constant traffic sound - construction sounds from time to time - mix of concrete poles with light and street lamps (globes) - wooden benches - covered and clean bus stops - metal and wooden fences - people walking on the street - people talking on the corner (one guy with a baby stroller and the other carrying a supermarket bag) - parked cars

[00:08:35] crossing Av. Grecia all the elements are the same more or less

[00:10:01] crossing Las Encinas: we are reaching the limit of Ñuñoa *comuna*, some changes are noticeable. More bare soil not well-maintained - a long wall tagged with messy graffiti - some pot holes and cracks in the road pavement - singing birds; even though, once we enter quieter streets the elements are quite the same again: houses - leafy trees both sides of the street - shades - green grass on sidewalks with spots of bare soil appearing from time to time - clear street name signs - parked cars - clean walls - metal fences - wooden fences - concrete utility/street light pole - green front gardens - quiet traffic - clear traffic signs - little park (thick grass, big trees, shades, wooden benches)

[00:12:45] Macul. Av. Pedro de Valdivia Avenue with Los Avellanos: here there is a big change, we enter a big avenue that cross different *comunas* of Santiago; we are one street away from leaving *comuna* of Ñuñoa and entering *comuna* of Macul, which is still middle-income area, but less wealthy than Ñuñoa. In the big street the grass disappears and bare soil with a lot of little stones is common - leafy and big trees both sides of the street - small local stores - gas station - pot holes and cracks in the road pavement - heavier traffic - parked cars and vans - public buses - big houses used as offices, workshops, stores - residential houses (those that usually maintain green front gardens) - offices buildings - a lot of parked cars along the sidewalks - covered and clean bus stops - logistic spaces to storage containers - street cables (maybe more visible because there are less trees) - long metal fences - bare soil sidewalks - parked cars on sidewalks – walls tagged with messy graffiti

On the other side of the street: houses - wooden fences - grass on sidewalks - leafy trees - no parked cars

[00:14:57] during a red light about holidays: both sides of the road buildings little factories, warehouses and offices - trees but less shades (they are more apart from the road) - bare soil on sidewalks with dried grass and little stones - no street names signals - traffic noises – walls tagged with messy graffiti - bollards on sidewalks to avoid vehicles parking

[00:17:40] we cross a zone of block of apartments - trees - wide sidewalks but tiny paved paths and a lot of bare soil with dried weeds - a mix of houses, local stores, warehouses and repair garages - trees - covered and clean bus stops -

[00:18:45] we take Av. Camino Agrícola: park (it has grass and trees but everything looks dispersed) - bollards - trees both sides of the road - some green front gardens - some green sidewalks -

when the houses stop and the local stores, repair cars and sheds appear, the green stops: no green front gardens, less trees on the sidewalks - heavier traffic - traffic sounds - almost no shades

[00:20:44] we approach Av. Vicuña Mackenna: a new apartments building - grass on sidewalks - bollards on sidewalks - the apartments fence is covered by plants and flowers - big Institute building - bare soil with dried weeds - a fence separates the sidewalk from the road - trees – over ground metro line - big street advertisements - bus stops full of garbage - construction barriers (there are works on Av. Vicuña Mackenna)

[00:22:09] we continue along the over ground metro structure - the road is closed, we need to continue by the sidewalk - long fences (warehouses, factories or educational institutions) - some grass on the sidewalk - potholes on the sidewalk - lying plastic road barriers - no body walking - another cyclist pass by - bare soil on the sidewalk - concrete utility/street light pole - construction barriers - cracked sidewalk path - garbage along the sidewalk - unattended construction materials - concrete road barriers

[00:24:09] we approach Universidad Católica campus: trees - grass - concrete benches - dirt paths and to look inside Universidad Católica seems like an oasis of green paths.

GOING TO HIS HABITUAL WORK PLACE

[00:02:41] Campus San Joaquín Universidad Católica: He is not sure about what route to take to go to his work place, we discuss it a little bit and we start riding. We leave the green and bird sounding (parrots) campus.

road pavement in good conditions - sidewalks in good conditions - bare earth road verge with dried weeds - concrete utility/street light pole - long metal fence - predominantly grey and brown colours - distant trees (on the road median or in the forehead landscape) - quiet traffic (it is a summer holiday month) - canal bridge - high voltage towers - wire fences covering the bridge sides - park with trees and well-kept grass and earth paths – walls tagged with messy graffiti - cables

Overall sense: mix of trees and green with a predominant sense of a landscape made of concrete and big infrastructures such as the canalised and fenced canal (Zanjón de la Aguada), high voltage towers and big avenues. Not many people are walking around (this can change during the year due to university activities).

[00:03:55] we talk during a red light

[00:04:19] we turn and take Padre Luis Querbes along Zanjón de la Aguada canal

little trees on sidewalks - large earth road verge with dried weeds - metal fences - big warehouses - high voltage towers along the canal - road pavement in good conditions - quiet traffic - no people on sidewalks - houses - park with trees - trees near the road - shades - large road verge – walls tagged with messy graffiti - tagged concrete utility/street light pole - metal fences, some of them wired - warehouses, little factories buildings - large parking spaces on road verge - cables

[00:06:21] we turn to Escuela Agrícola street. I feel a change in the ambience, in the landscape: more trees, greener and some people walking. We leave the 'infrastructural' ambience of the canal surroundings.

Green road median with trees, green grass and dirt paths, wooden benches and playground (no body there though) - houses - closed front gardens using wood and metal fences - large road verge (some parts well-kept maybe by the owner of the house next to it and other parts bare earth with dried weeds) - leafy trees both sides of the road - concrete utility/street light pole - warehouses - little industries and offices - wire fences - bare road verge (some of it used as parking area) - cracked road pavement - somebody riding a tricycle cart in opposite direction - covered bus stops - block of apartments (typical 'block') - trees - dirt and wide road verge - a lot of poles - inside fences block of buildings area there are well kept and green gardens - visible street name signs

[00:08:13] houses - green road verge with grass, bushes and trees - green road median with leafy trees, green grass and earth paths, wooden benches and playground (no people using this green part) - parked cars on road verge - road pavement in relatively good conditions with cracks from time

to time - nice gardens in the road verge with bushes, grass and flowers - leafy trees both sides of the road - shades - covered bus stops - clean street name signs

[00:10:26] quiet traffic, Antonio takes advantage to ride without hands and stretch a little bit (I wish I could do the same), he touches bushes brands that come to the road (some people do the same while walking).

[00:11:03] Ñuñoa. Rodrigo de Araya street:

factories buildings - long metal fences - dirt road verges with dried weeds - on the other side: green road median with trees, grass, earth paths and playgrounds - cracked road pavement - trees on road verge - shades - more traffic - people walking – walls tagged with messy graffiti (probably from a factory) - covered bus stop - visible street name signs - houses - greener road verges with bushes, plants and grass (or clean earth) - concrete utility/street light pole - big garbage bins - covered bus stops - people on the street - shades - local stores - National Stadium - road pavement in good conditions - trees both sides of the road - shades - green road verges with grass - green road median with grass and trees – people voices (a kid) - parked cars on the road

[00:13:58] getting closer to Grecia Avenue:

dirt road verge - long fences (stadium) - trees in the road median - fruit kiosk - road pavement in good conditions - normal traffic - some trees or bushes on the sidewalk (stadium) - road verge and sidewalk is interrupted by parking space

[00:15:13] Antonio takes his helmet off. We are entering a different area, more residential and quiet.

[00:15:37] we jump across the grass on the road verge (we cannot continue the same street, it changes traffic direction) and we keep a little bit on the sidewalk.

big houses - green front gardens - quiet - grass on the road verge - trees both sides of the road - shades - mix of concrete poles with light and street lamps (globes) - wooden fences - singing birds - road pavement in relative good conditions - clean walls - cables (but not so notorious because of the trees) - few people walking - puddles (probably from garden watering) - clear street name signs - mix of little and bigger leafy trees - dogs barking - covered bus stops

[00:20:41] Irrarrázaval and Salvador intersection: we take advantage of a red light to talk about knee pain and injuries

traffic sounds - people walking in the street - covered bus stop - newspaper kiosks - construction barriers and sings - leafy trees both sides of the street - shades - mix of houses from the first half of

the 20th century (some of them used as stores and offices), local shops, apartments buildings, schools and universities big buildings - terraced houses - cracked pavement - narrow sidewalk - narrow road verge: mix of paved, dirt and grass - concrete utility/street light pole - clean walls - covered bus stops - clean street name signs - light cables - street cables

[00:24:22] we take Santa Isabel Avenue: almost all houses are terraced houses - mix of shops and residential use - mix of concrete poles with light and street lamps (globes) - colourful houses (red, green, yellow, etc.) - road verge mix of spaces with grass, bushes, plants and flowers; parking space; paved and dirt road verge (depending on the use the corresponding building has) - traffic noises - construction noises - trees both sides of the road - shades - posters on a long construction site wall

[00:25:28] Condell street: cracked pavement - leafy trees both sides of the road – tunnel of shade (canopied trees)- road verge: mix of grass and parking space - mix of terraced houses, apartments buildings an big old houses from first half of the 20th century - mix of concrete poles with light and street lamps (globes) - traffic sound - construction sounds - clear street name signs - people walking on the sidewalks

Overall sense: green and shades

[00:25:41] Marín: leafy trees both sides of the road – tunnel of shades (canopied trees) - cycleway - a mix of green roads verge with bushes and parking space - mix of terraced houses, apartments buildings, big old houses from first half of the 20th century and big houses - mix of concrete poles with light and street lamps (globes) - clear street name signs - street cables - traffic sounds - people walking on the sidewalks

[00:26:52] we speak during a red light

We enter Santiago Centro: mix of tall apartments buildings, little apartments buildings and terraced houses - trees both sides of the road - green road verges with grass - people walking on sidewalks - big bins of garbage placed at regular distance - construction sounds - colourful houses - construction barriers - cycleway

[00:29:45] Portugal Avenue: mainly shops - high traffic - traffic sounds - a lot of people walking - hospital - trees both sides of the road - Universidad de Chile Campus - covered bus stop - cycleway - Universidad Católica Campus - mix of cobblestone and pavement - walls and kiosks tagged with messy graffiti - street light pole - no street cables - clear street name signs - only sidewalks (no more road verge) - empty cycle parking spaces - street litter bins

Overall sense: big institutional buildings; hustle and bustle

Appendix 3. Participants' Perspectives about Santiago

This table correlates participants' perceptions about walking and the city with the metaphors of plaited and dotted city. Its purpose is to better visualise the diversity of perspectives among participants. I used it to understand some convergences that may help to make sense of the relation between the practice of walking (or the lack of it) and the type of knowledge people build about the city. This table does not indicate a causal relationship between the extent of walking and the experience a plaited or dotted city. All the cases presented in this chart are singular and summarising them, in the process of translating participants' complex answers into categories such as 'plaited city' or 'dotted city' and 'yes' or 'no', has been achieved only through some degree of arbitrariness. That is why I combined those simple answers with quotes from the participants to represent better the complexity they explained. The quotes have been translated from Spanish.

City Area	Participant	Tactile Knowledge	Do you like walking?	Do you like walking in Santiago?	Do you like Santiago?
Low-Income	Trinidad	Plaited City	Yes 'You enjoy when you walk. You enjoy looking around, the aromas...'	Yes 'I do not know how to explain it. What I like is window shopping. If I go to the city centre I like to walk there to window shopping (...) It is not about the shops though, it is about walking (...) I like to walk on my own, window shopping as I have an ice-cream or sitting down at some place to have a coffee'.	Yes She declares she likes Santiago. However, she finds it has changed a lot. She feels now there are too many people and people's attitudes are more aggressive. She thinks that if people had more space (not living in crowded neighbourhoods) living together would be better. Her favourite places: Parque O'Higgins, Estación Central (commercial area).
	Belisario	Dotted City	Yes 'When you are walking or running you see how the landscape changes (...) You see	Yes/No He does not like to walk in places where people are rushing. He prefers calmer places around where he lives, far from the city centre bustle.	No He does not hate it, but he does not 'go to Santiago', as he says even when he lives in Santiago. He feels some way out of the city living in a peripheral area in the

			different people, different things: good and bad things’.	When he had time to going out, he liked to go south to San Bernardo.	south. Even though, there are some places he likes in more central areas such as Parque Forestal and Plaza a la Aviación in <i>comuna</i> of Providencia.
	Malkovik	Dotted City	Yes ‘First, it is like exercising. Second, it is like taking a breath and like being in touch with nature; although here, there is less and less nature’. He says he likes to <i>recrear la vista</i> ⁴⁰ and amuse himself the architecture and landscape.	Not anymore ‘I walked in the old Santiago and it was some kind pleasant (...) [now] people are very hostile, in general (...) There is an aggressiveness that has become ingrained in people. So, even one’s self sometimes falls into the same game’.	No ‘I do not know, but now I hate Santiago. The only thing I would want to do is to take my things and go away. To leave Santiago because I am so sick of it. I am sick of the criminality and the unsafe conditions amidst which you live here day after day’.
	Juan Onofre	Plaited City	Yes ‘I like to walk because I am a “voyeur” and I ask questions and I want to know [things] (...)’	Yes ‘I like to walk anywhere, but of course Santiago is my city. I was born here, I went to the nursery here, I studied here, I lived my adolescence here going back and forth on foot because money was not abundant. Here I knew what love was and if I had to walk all night long or go across several	Yes ‘If I tell the opposite I would be ungrateful. Santiago is plenty of beauty and extraordinary places full of life: the hills in the middle of the city, the Mapocho river, the Metropolitan Park full of birds [he mentions other parks and neighbourhoods]. Santiago is like a mosaic such as its dwellers are’.

⁴⁰ Literally means ‘to amuse your sight’ and it refers to look different things that get you distracted from routinary views and activities.

				<p><i>comunas</i> to get to a loved one's home, of course I walked! And here I keep walking feeling in my element'.</p>	
Middle-Income	Fernanda	Plaited City	<p>Yes</p> <p>She likes the physical activity of walking, and engaging in a rhythm, appreciating the landscape or getting to know new places. In the city she likes to walk with people as an activity but walking as a means of transport is rare for her, she is not that patient and she prefers to take the bike or the car.</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>'Yes! A lot! It is a different time and pace. I look at the houses, the front gardens, the trees, the people and their interactions'.</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>'Yes, I like it a lot: the views from the heights with the nature, hills, city, buildings, neighbourhoods. It feels too big sometimes, but I like to know new places even though I criticise the lack of planning and the disproportionate growth in some areas (...) Overall, there are plenty of neighbourhoods and landscapes that I like and those are where I move through. I feel affectionate about these areas'.</p>

	Mara	Plaited City	<p>Yes</p> <p>‘I think that it opens your criteria [walking], I think it clears your vision of life. I think it feeds your soul and it allows you to discover the other (...) As I tell you, I think that walking is to find life’.</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>‘Yes. When I was younger, I mean... when I was young I walked... I took my son to the school and then I walked to my workplace. I worked in the intersection of Providencia Avenue and Salvador Avenue [around 5 kilometres away]. Then I used to come back playing with the streets [choosing different streets each day], I took my son from the school and I arrived here [home]’.</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>‘Yes. I like Santiago. I think it is full of mysteries, each street... there are magical places. For example, that one where San Francisco church is located, going along Londres [street]. Of course there are places with a bad vibe (...) I find it is magical. The avenues... Macul, I do not know... for me Santiago has a lot of beauty, the hills... it has so much beauty’.</p>
	Rafaela	Plaited City	<p>Yes</p> <p>‘Yes, I love it. I like walking. Though, I used to like it more before. Now it is like... I do not know, here there have been so many assaults...’</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>‘I like to walk. I like to go looking around when I am relaxed. When I go to the city centre, (...) I always walk fast but I go looking around, I may do window shopping a little. Then, I keep going and I stop by another shop and then I walk into the church. Yes, I like it’ (she keeps mentioning places near her home she enjoy walking along).</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>[she was not born in Santiago] ‘I always liked Santiago. Now, the place I live is... I would like it to be a little bit better, quieter. It is not a bad place but I am not completely satisfied, let’s say. Because it is not a bad, bad neighbourhood; but it is not a good, good one, either. In spite of it, I like Santiago. I like the <i>comuna</i> [Macul] and the place we are located because Macul has some other terrible places but where I live is not that much [terrible] because we are next to Ñuñoa [<i>comuna</i>], so it is not that bad’.</p>

	Antonio	Plaited/ Dotted City	Yes '(...) I think walking places is essential to get into them'	Yes/No 'Yes... it depends. If I find out about new places, If I go to new places that I have not known before within Santiago, I like to walk the city. [However] there are other cities that are very pleasant and it is truly pleasant to walk along in them'	Yes/No I do not enjoy too much to be in Santiago (...) To know that I am constantly breathing this [polluted] air and, besides... I do not know, the horns (...) It is a contradictory relationship... it is not so friendly, it is not so walkable... it is not pleasant'.
High-Income	Alejandro	Plaited/ Dotted City	Yes He likes to walk but he decides to walk depending a lot on weather conditions: he hates to walk in summer. It also depends on the conditions of the place (not too crowded).	Yes (but) He likes to walk in some parts of Santiago where it is greener and not so crowded: 'it is not so much because of me, it is because of what those situations produce in me. I start to wonder how it is possible that so much contrasts can exist within the same country, within the same city'.	Yes 'Overall, I think it is a nice city, at least the areas I normally move around and visit'.
	Pau	Dotted City	Yes She likes physical activities. Whenever she has the time and the opportunity to take the bike or walk, she does it.	Yes (but) She likes the activity of walking by itself. She does not enjoy particularly strolling in Santiago. She likes to walk along safe places with a lot of green and with few people around.	Not 'as a city' She likes some places but not the way Santiago works as a city: 'I like any place you can find a park, a square, trees (...) I like the hills (...) the old part of Santiago. But Santiago as a city... [not so much] (...) What I hate of

					<p>Santiago is the traffic jams, too many cars, public transport is not comfortable (...) I feel the city has been growing and people have isolated themselves more and more due to the lack of safety. And transport is a problem because everybody wants to move by car and the inequality it generates because, basically, the rich people are segregated from the poor people (...) So, I do not like all of that so much'.</p>
	Felipe	Dotted City	<p>Yes 'Absolutely (...) I used to go around places whenever I can'.</p>	<p>Yes (but) 'I like to walk along some places of Santiago'. He likes green spaces, the hills of the city, some popular markets (such as Bío-Bío) and the city centre but only during times when is not so crowded.</p>	<p>Yes (but) 'Yes, I like it. I mean, I would change a lot of things (...) but I could not give the easy answer that 'I hate Santiago, any place in Europe is better'. It is too simplistic an answer to say: everything is wrong here because it is grey, because of the traffic. If you think, every city suffers the same kind of problems. It is also on our own hands to recognise special places within the city'.</p>
	Sofía	Dotted City	<p>Yes She likes to walk, she normally walks when she is on holidays or she strolls on the weekends.</p>	<p>Yes [She was not born in Santiago] She enjoys strolling, normally with her husband, in some parts of the city. In neighbourhoods such as Lastarria, Yungay and Brasil. Also, she likes the</p>	<p>Yes She does not love Santiago but she says it is a nice city, clean compared to other Chilean cities. She likes the diversity as well, she likes to observe different people. That is one of the reasons she enjoys going to</p>

				<p>parks and the hills. They normally arrive by car and then they stroll around.</p>	<p>buy fruit and vegetables to La Vega downtown, she says she likes to say hello to the people who sell there and knowing them.</p>
	Julia	Dotted City	<p>Yes (but) 'It do not mind walking. I like it but the lifestyle I have here, it [walking] does not fit in it. There is no opportunity to walk (...) I am lazy, I do not crave walking. When I travel I get the opportunity to walk'. She tells me she hates organised tours and she walks a lot in the cities she visits in other countries, she also takes the public transport: in Buenos Aires, in London (to mention her most recent trips).</p>	<p>No 'No, a place like... "ah! I will go there to walk along ...", no. No, otherwise I would do it'.</p>	<p>Yes (but) 'I was born in Santiago, I am <i>santiaguina</i>. I like Santiago, I think it is a city where you can find everything. It does not annoy me (...) When I travel, I like to come back (...) But, as I am telling you, [I like it] because I live in a privileged place, because if I lived in another place, maybe I would not like it [Santiago]'.</p>